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ARCHAEOLOGIA:

OR

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS

RELATING TO

ANTIQUITY.

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RELATING TO

ANTIQUITY,

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[a] The Society is indebted to Mr. A. H. Hallam Murray, M.A., F.S.A., for the loan of this illustration.

[b] The Society is indebted to Mr. J. Starkie Gardner for the gift of part of these illustrations.

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[a] The Society is indebted to Mr. C. E. Keyser, M.A., F.S.A., for the gift of these illustrations.

ARCHAEOLOGIA:

OR,

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS,

&c.

I.—*On some Buildings of the Romano-British Period discovered at Clanville, near Andover, and on a deposit of Pewter Vessels of the same period found at Appleshaw, Hants. By the Rev.* G. H. Engleheart, *M.A. With Appendixes by* Charles H. Read, *Esq., Secretary, and* William Gowland, *Esq., F.S.A., F.C.S., Associate R.S.M.*

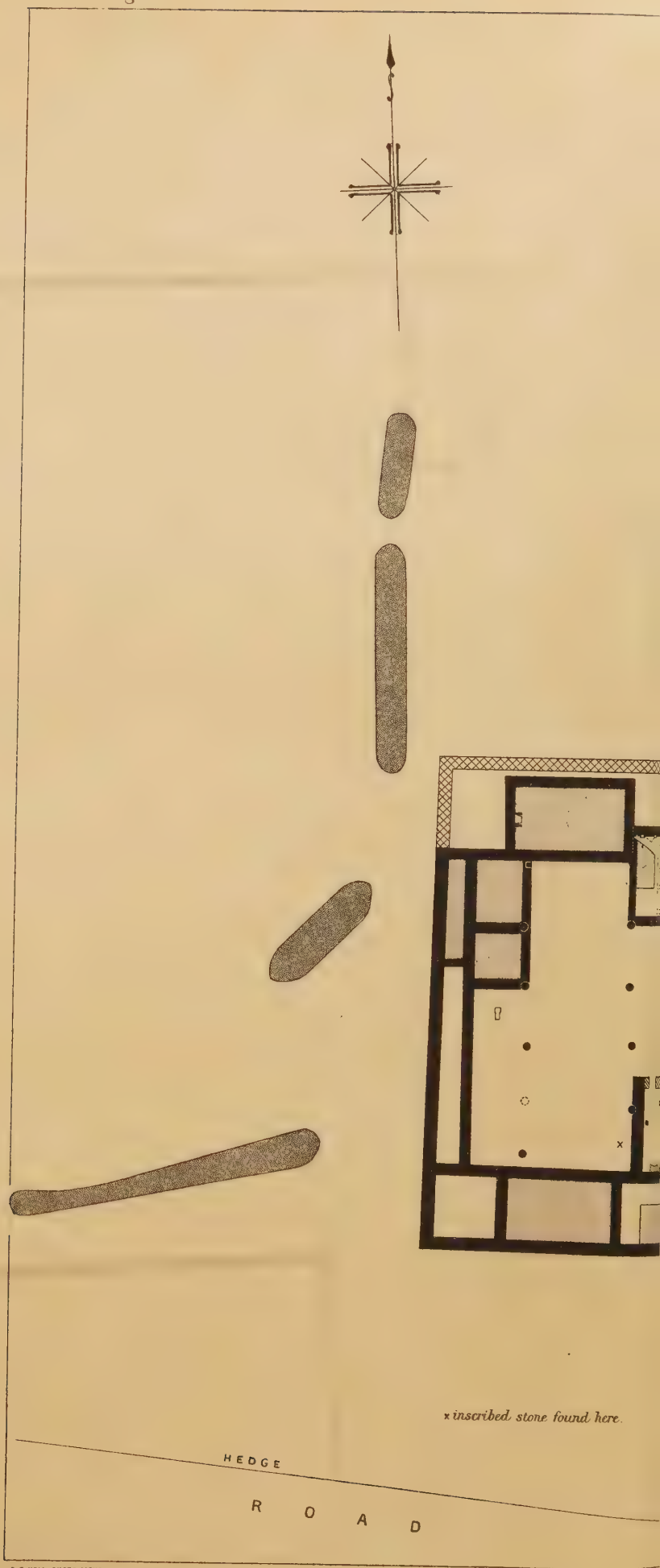
Read November 25, 1897.

In the immediate neighbourhood of my house in the village of Appleshaw, on the north-western border of Hampshire, the sites are unusually close together of those dwellings of the Romano-British period which are, with a certain vagueness, termed Roman villas. Appleshaw is distant five miles north-west from Andover; one mile north of Andover two Roman roads intersect, the one running from Old Sarum north-easterly to Silchester, the other from Winchester north-westerly to Cirencester. At Finkley, close to the point of intersection, pottery and other Roman material has from time to time been unearthed, and the locality is one of those which have, by a somewhat unconvincing reference to the Antonine itinerary and to etymology, been identified with the unascertained site of *Vindomis*. Imagine these two roads at their crossing to stand like an upright capital X over the town of Andover, with that town in the lowest angle; my own nearer neighbourhood will lie in the western or left-hand angle. Three-quarters of a mile east of my house is the lately-examined site upon which I have to report particularly this evening. One mile north and a little west (all the distances mentioned are measured in radius from my house) is a villa on the Redenham estate, excavated some fifty years back by Sir John Pollen, the landowner. It appears that no plans were made and no record kept. A hypocaust cavity is still discernible, its *pilæ* built of circular bricks, and fragments of the suspended floor are still *in situ*, of grey, white, and red *tesseræ*. In the Winchester Museum are a few *tesseræ*

from this site with letters on them, an interesting feature and recalling the inscribed Thruxton pavement from the same district. It is highly probable that this Redenham villa has not been uncovered to its full extent, and that other rooms and perhaps wings of the building await investigation; indeed, I have myself discovered wall-foundations and many roofing-tiles beneath the surface of a field 100 yards south of the excavated portion. One mile south of my house, in a large field sloping up to the high road from Andover to Marlborough, abundant surface-indications, *débris* of stone roof-slabs, brick, flue-tile, etc., show a villa-site, and here I had the good fortune lately to find the deposit of metal vessels exhibited to-night. Similar indications mark another unexplored site on rising ground one and a quarter mile south-east, and little more than half a mile from the Clanville villa. Again, barely two miles south is the well-known Thruxton villa, of which there was uncovered in 1823 what assuredly is but a portion of a probably large and fine building.

Almost within a stone's-throw of my gate is a copse which abounds, over a considerable area, in traces of occupation during the Romano-British period; a spade can scarcely be put to the ground without disclosing pottery, tile, and similar evidences. Roman coins are found there, and among other objects I possess a bronze *fibula* and a *cochleare*, or spoon, of white metal. Examination has led me to think that this was the site not of a villa but of a cluster of huts or cottages, the ancestor, perhaps, of the present village of Appleshaw. To these sites, of all of which I have personal knowledge, I could add two more of which information has lately been brought to me, neither of them more than two miles from my house, making eight within that distance. And to these, again, I could easily add others by going rather further a-field; for instance, four or five miles south to the Abbotts Ann villa excavated in 1854. There is reason to think that the finer portion of this, or possibly a finer house quite near to it, is as yet unexplored.

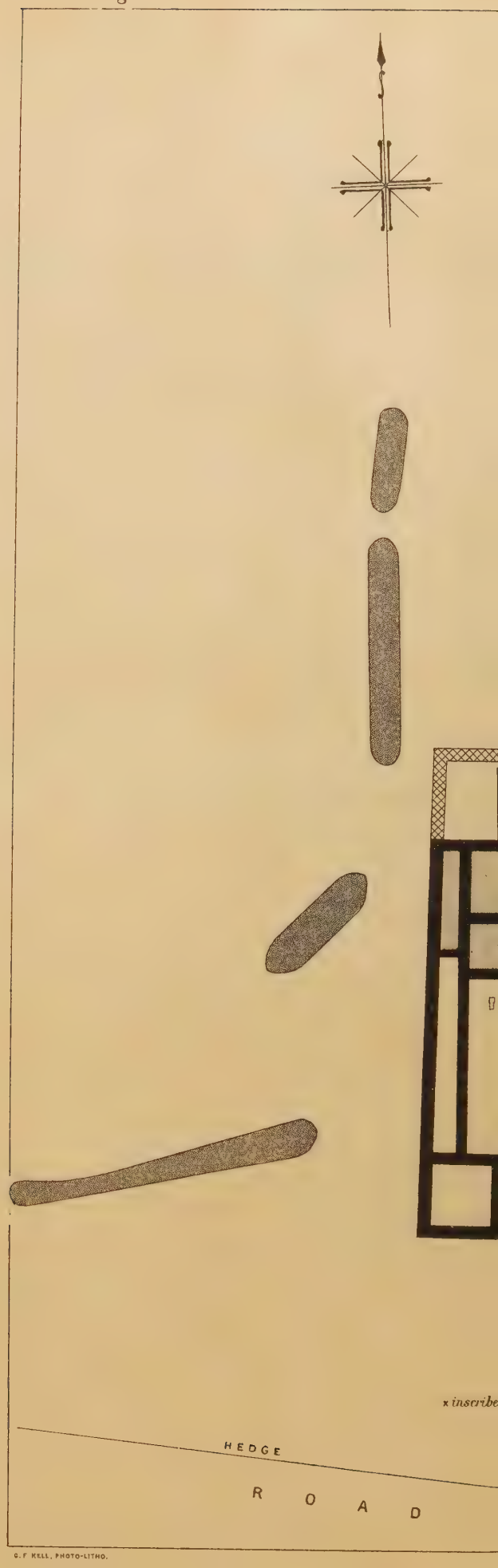
In January, 1897, word was brought me that in a field a few minutes' walk from my house a ploughman had come upon a large stone with letters on it, and that the plough had grazed a level floor of some kind. The stone, which I at once took into safe custody, bore the roughly-cut inscription M AVR KARINO N CAES, the first inscription to Carinus, it seems, as yet found in Britain. The pavement proved to be that of the southernmost room of the house as afterwards excavated. As the field could without difficulty be rented, a small local committee was formed and subscriptions collected with a view to careful exploration. The Society of Antiquaries kindly granted £10, and Mr. A. H. Lyell, F.S.A., has given his constant interest and personal assistance to the work, which has now been



O. F KELL, PHOTO-LITHO.

PLAN OF A

ROMAN HOUSE AT CLANVILLE, ANDOVER.



G. F. KELL, PHOTO-LITHO.

Arthur H. Lyell, M.A. F.S.A.
mens. et del. 1897.

PLAN OF A ROMAN HOUSE AT CLANVILLE, ANDOVER.

completed. Mr. Montague Edwards, of Clanville House, has devoted much time to its superintendence. Mr. Lyell has prepared a plan (Plate I., by which my brief and general description may be supplemented in detail.

The site is a beautifully chosen one on the summit, 370 feet above sea-level, of the rising ground between Appleshaw and the hamlet of Clanville, in Weyhill parish, distant from Andover about five miles and two and a half from either of the two Roman roads already mentioned. There is no stream of water near, and no well has been found on the site, but it is probable that the intermittent springs, which in very wet seasons run in the "bottoms" of the neighbourhood, were both more abundant and perennial at a period when the great forests must have caused a far heavier rainfall. The soil of the district is a shallow clay resting on chalk, very baffling to the investigator when sounding for foundations, on account of the natural flints in the staple. I may here mention that the stone of the district is exclusively flint, and therefore fragments of stone roofing-slabs readily catch the eye in the fields, and serve as surface indications of Roman sites.

The general plan of the villa (Plate I.) is the not unusual one of a large court-yard, in rough measurements 66 yards by 50, with detached wings or houses on three sides of it. Two of these lie in ground adjacent to the rented field in which the first discovery was made, and so could not be fully examined. Fortunately the first found building proved to be the dwelling-house proper and of chief interest. This lies on the west side of the court, and is a parallelogram measuring over all about 96 feet by 52, its longer axis lying almost north and south. There are evidences of at least one considerable reconstruction of this wing, and I am inclined to suppose that the rooms as they now appear are a smaller and inferior erection upon the ground plan, which can to some extent be traced, of an older, larger house. Thus the rooms lay round a small court with a peristyle, of which a double row, running north and south, of stone bases still remains almost entire, six a side. But this original peristyle had been curtailed by building the walls of the present rooms over the three northernmost bases on either side; the masonry not only surrounding but actually covering the bases. *Tesseræ* of different sizes and better quality than those of the extant pavements were found in excavating; a solitary one is of fine blue glass, and several clusters of small white *tesseræ*, set in fine and very hard cement, lay on the surface of a pavement to which they bore no reference. Below the pavement of the northernmost room an old wall foundation was found, and almost everywhere under the present floors is a layer of black ash, perhaps marking the destruction by fire of a former building.

The rooms, as now seen, are as follows. The centre of the south end was

occupied by a room 20 feet by 13 feet 6 inches. The pavement must originally have been of some beauty, but a fragment only remains, showing a double guilloche or braid of dull purple, white and red, within a broad border of grey. It can be seen that it was divided into a broad central panel and two narrow ones. The central medallions or designs have entirely perished. At the centre of the opposite north end of the house was a corresponding room of the same dimensions, paved with plain grey *tesseræ*. In this pavement, not in its true centre but a little way out from the middle of the north wall, is a device of three intersecting circles, distinctly worked in the same grey *tesseræ*. If not the mere freak of a workman, this may possibly be something of the nature of a charm or religious symbol. Against the west wall of this room is the rather rare feature of an open brick hearth.

Immediately within the west external wall of the house a narrow corridor ran the whole length of the building, but only its northern portion is paved in plain grey *tesseræ*. The paved portion has been walled off from the rest, perhaps for warmth in the later reconstruction, and gives access to two small and almost square rooms, paved with red, white, and grey *tesseræ* in simple patterns of stripes and chequers. The chess-board design of the smaller of these two rooms is very rudely and irregularly executed over half its area. South of these two rooms and adjacent to the corridor a small oven or furnace of brick and cement, containing a layer of ashes when found, may perhaps indicate the site of a kitchen.

On the opposite side of the colonnaded central space the east length of the house was occupied by two heated rooms, with, probably, the main entrance to the house between them. A large square sandstone block is still *in situ* in the east wall, socketed as if for the reception of a doorpost. A cemented floor in the large outer courtyard, rising in two elevations to the supposed doorway, may be the remains of the ascent to this entrance. Of these two heated rooms that to the north of the entrance has its hypocaust, flues, and furnace-arch in fair preservation, also a portion of suspended floor of red and grey *tesseræ*. The main floor-supports are large masonry blocks of flint and chalk, and flues were carried into the walls at short intervals. The hypocaust of the room south of the entrance has been almost entirely destroyed, probably for the sake of the large square bricks of which its *pilæ* were built. The floor seems to have been of *opus signinum*. Between this room and the south wall of the house was what may have been a small bath or tank, lined with cement. The northernmost end of the colonnaded area is floored with rammed chalk, the remainder, in its present state, is of bare clay.

The masonry of the building is of flint interspersed with large blocks of

chalk, and excellent hard white mortar. The north wall of the best preserved hypocaust is still very perfect, and has a bonding course of large square bricks. The walls all have a well-marked set-off of three courses at the foundation, which is based on pounded chalk and well-worked clay. *Opus signinum* was largely used for the walls and floors. The scheme of colouring of the room walls was chiefly red and white in simple patterns. A very large quantity of plaster was found grooved with shallow intersecting flutings, the ground white with bright red stripes along the hollows. From its rough finish this was probably used on ceilings, or wall-spaces above the eye-line. A broken column with its capital intact, 3 feet in length by 13 inches in diameter of shaft, was found near the centre of the house; when first dug up it showed clear traces of the same red and white colouring.

The north wing of the villa, if for convenience I may use the term "wing" of three separate buildings linked together only by the bounding wall of the quadrangle, is a long narrow structure of irregular form, about 180 feet long and averaging 33 feet broad, divided into many chambers. From its having no floors, and only rough wall foundations of flint, with but little fallen masonry, it is probable that its walls were of timber, and that it comprised the necessary farm-buildings, with accommodation for cattle, grain stores, and the like.

The east wing, so far as it has been excavated, seems to have been similar in form to the last. In length it was perhaps about 110 feet, in breadth 40 feet. No tessellated floors have been discovered in the trenches cut: the floors were probably of mortar. It contained one room with a *suspensura* and a deep-set hypocaust, which, however, has been destroyed to an extent which has made it impossible to ascertain its measurements. This wing may have been the servants' quarters. A surprising number of quite perfect lozenge-shaped stone roofing slabs, many with the nails still in them, were dug up in this wing. There was found here a large urn of the ordinary black ware, 2 feet in height, buried upright in the ground, and covered with a large flanged tile, which had been crushed down into the mouth of the jar by pressure from above, probably of the plough. Six small bronze Roman coins were found in it, mostly adhering to its sides, part perhaps of a large hoard which had been discovered and removed.

On the west side of the villa several curious long pits or trenches were found, the largest some 20 yards in length and about 5 feet across, of an obtusely V-shaped section and 3 feet to 4 feet deep. These were entirely filled with rubbish from the buildings, the largest containing tons of wall plaster. They appear to have been originally puddled with clay and partly lined with the abundant stone roof-slabs.

It has been suggested that they were for gathering surface-water, but they are of strangely irregular form for such a use.

The many objects found in the course of excavation, though full of interest as a local collection, are, with few exceptions, such as may be called normal. The pottery, mostly fragmentary, was chiefly of the ordinary classes and of New Forest ware, with a few pieces of Caistor and "Samian." Window glass was found, blue, green, and white. In iron there were knives and other tools, a finger-ring, and many nondescript articles. In bronze several armlets, one or two plain rings, a pin of uncommon type with a glass paste in its head, but no brooches. Broken bracelets of Kimmeridge shale occurred. Quite a little collection was made of the not unusual footprints of various animals on bricks and tiles. The coins, over fifty in number, range from Domitian to Decentius.

About the set of metal vessels from Appleshaw now exhibited I will say little, since they are submitted for the opinion of experts. It was my curious good fortune to hit upon them at once in a first experimental trench dug on the site already mentioned, one mile south of my house. They appeared to be designedly hidden in a pit sunk through a cement floor, 3 feet below the surface of the field. The smaller vessels were carefully covered by the larger dishes. One suggestion I may make with regard to their date. Lying on the floor below which they were buried was a fragment of wall plaster bearing a peculiar pattern of red flower buds on a white ground, absolutely identical with plaster found in the Clanville Villa. Now the inscribed stone found in the latter proves that the house was inhabited in the year 284 A.D., while the coins cease with Decentius, 351 A.D. Therefore, on the not unreasonable suppositions (1) that the plaster as found represents the wall-decoration of the houses at the time of their destruction or abandonment, (2) that the identity of design shows a correspondence of dates, (3) that the vessels were concealed when the house was abandoned, we may assign the vessels to a period not by many years removed from 350 A.D.

APPENDIX I.

List of Pewter Dishes and Vessels found at Appleshaw and now in the British Museum. By Charles H. Read, *Esq., Secretary.*

(The numbers are those of the Museum Register.)

The remarkable set of pewter vessels, or *ministerium*, that Mr. Engleheart has been fortunate enough to light upon form a very valuable addition to the series of the same kind in the British Museum, where they are now preserved. They consist, as may be seen from the detailed list appended, of a number of large flat dishes, mostly circular in shape, one only being square, drinking cups, bowls, and small dishes, all apparently for use at the table, either for eating or drinking. Assuming that the whole service is before us, as is very possible, it is interesting to note how much more numerous are the large dishes, that were common to all the guests, than those appropriated to individuals. Interesting comparisons may be made between these and the far more luxurious services from Chaource in the south of France (in the British Museum) and the Bosco Reale hoard in the Museum of the Louvre.

Many of the shapes of the Appleshaw service are common in pottery, such as the drinking cup No. 15 (fig. 7) and the flanged bowl No. 18 (fig. 8). The former is a typical form of cup among the New Forest pottery, and is also found in Caistor ware. The flanged bowl is often made in "Samian" ware. The flange would adapt it for being placed within another vessel on the edges of which the flange would rest, and the contents of the bowl would be kept warm without direct contact with either fire or water. The small oval dish No. 32 (fig. 9), apparently used for fish, is also found in Samian ware, though it is perhaps more strictly a metal shape. A very similar dish in silver from Egypt is preserved in the British Museum. The chalice-like cup No. 12 (fig. 6) is unusual, and the broad foot and edge curved outwards seem scarcely adapted for a drinking vessel. The Roman potters appear to have been unable to produce large dishes of the size of those before us, and sufficiently thin to be practically useful. Their efforts in this direction were either in metal or glass.

An uncommon feature in the dishes from Appleshaw is the ornamental designs, mostly of geometrical construction, with which they are embellished.

They appear to have been produced by following the lines of the pattern with a wedge-shaped punch, much like a broken penknife, and the design was afterwards emphasized by filling it with what Mr. Gowland has determined to be a bituminous material, not niello as would have been expected. Like the Roman silver plate, all the circular objects were finished on the lathe, which in such a soft material as pewter readily allowed the workman to relieve the broad flat surface with concentric circles and other devices.

It is perhaps not very profitable to speculate on the reasons that induced the owner of this service to conceal it in so deliberate a way; but the hiding would seem to have been carried out in a business-like manner, as if it were intended to recover the property later. The owner, therefore, was probably not driven away by any sudden panic, but rather by a distant, though certain, danger that would in time pass by and allow him to return to his home. Parallels may readily be found in the state of things in England during the Commonwealth troubles. It is somewhat curious that a similar large pewter service was found at Icklingham, in Suffolk, about the year 1840, though in this case the objects were dispersed. Here also the hiding of the pieces seem to have been deliberately and carefully carried out. A number of the specimens have from time to time come to the British Museum, and we have now more than forty pieces which either certainly or very probably came from this find: of these twelve are dishes ranging from 15 inches downwards, one only being square, as in the Appleshaw hoard, the others are bowls, circular or octagonal, saucers, cups, etc.

Another find of dishes and vessels took place about 1858 at Sutton, in the Isle of Ely, and of these the British Museum has six large dishes, of diameters from 1 foot 7 inches to 1 foot. Mr. Marshall Fisher, of Ely, has a number of pieces from the same find, among them a good octagonal cup. These were exhibited to the Society in 1870.[a]

Of minor finds preserved in the British Museum it will be sufficient to mention the following: Two large dishes found at Southwark, with the name "Martinus" scratched on them; two cups from Cambridgeshire, one found on Coldham Common and the other from a Saxon cemetery; and two lamp-stands and a cylindrical vessel from Colchester. A double cone-shaped vessel found, containing 1,500 coins, from Constantine to Gratianus, and probably deposited about 376 A.D., is figured in *Proceedings*.[b] A very large dish with a circular panel in the middle, filled with chequer design, probably of the same work as the Appleshaw pieces, and found at Welney, is in private possession.

[a] *Proceedings*, 2nd S. iv. 425.

[b] 2nd S. xii. 56.

1. Circular dish (*lanx*) 19¾ inches in diameter; narrow border ⅓ inch wide thickened at the edge; raised circle at back.
2. Similar, but very imperfect at the edges. Present diameter 20 inches; originally about 22 inches. In the centre is a circular medallion with a geometrical design in outline filled with black matter. The greater part of the lines have been produced with a wedge-shaped punch about 0·08 inch long; raised circle at back.

Fig. 1. Central ornament of dish No. 2. (½.)

Fig. 2. Central ornament and border of dish No. 4. (½.)

3. Similar, also much decayed; present diameter 19½ inches; originally 20½ inches. In the centre moulded circle 3 inches in diameter; moulded border, thickened at the edge; raised circle at back.
4. Similar, the metal much decomposed; 18½ inches in diameter. In the centre a circular medallion, 5⅛ inches in diameter, similar in design to that on No. 2, and produced in the same way, but without the black matter. The border is likewise ornamented with a running scroll, of the same work and the edge is much thickened; raised circle at back.

5. Similar, much decomposed at one edge, but the metal elsewhere in excellent state; diameter $18\frac{1}{4}$; plain border with thickened edge $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide. In the centre concentric circles, the largest $6\frac{1}{8}$ inches in diameter; raised circle at back.
6. Similar, one side decayed; diameter, $18\frac{1}{4}$ inches, border 1 inch; quite plain; circle at back.
7. Similar, diameter, $17\frac{5}{8}$ inches. In the centre a circular medallion, $5\frac{1}{8}$ inches in diameter, with an outline plaited chequer pattern, the squares containing reversed coils or circles. The lines are punched or engraved, as in the foregoing examples. Stout outer edge stamped with circles.
8. Similar, much decayed; edge entirely gone. Original diameter, about 18 inches. Quite plain; circle at back.
9. Similar, one side decayed; diameter, 16 inches. In the centre a circular medallion with two interlocked squares. Stout outer edge with stamped scallop border.
10. Similar, diameter, $14\frac{3}{4}$ inches. Central design like that on No. 7; crescents stamped on edge.

Fig. 3. Central ornament of dish No. 9. ($\frac{1}{2}$.)

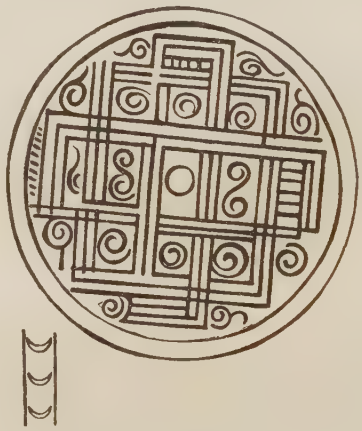


Fig. 4. Central ornament of dish No. 10. ($\frac{1}{2}$.)

11. Square dish (*lanx*), with semicircular projection at the middle of each side; the hollowed middle is circular. Diameter, $15\frac{1}{2}$ inches. On the back, in the centre, a compass drawn circle, divided by semicircles, so as to produce a Maltese cross.

12. Chalice-shaped cup ; shaped bowl, cylindrical stem with moulding round middle ; circular foot, $5\frac{3}{8}$ inches in diameter ; height, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

13. Octagonal jug, with narrow neck and foot. Round the neck a projecting band with punched design between wavy lines. Present height, $10\frac{1}{4}$ inches. Handle now lost, the plate which attached it to the body is heart-shaped.

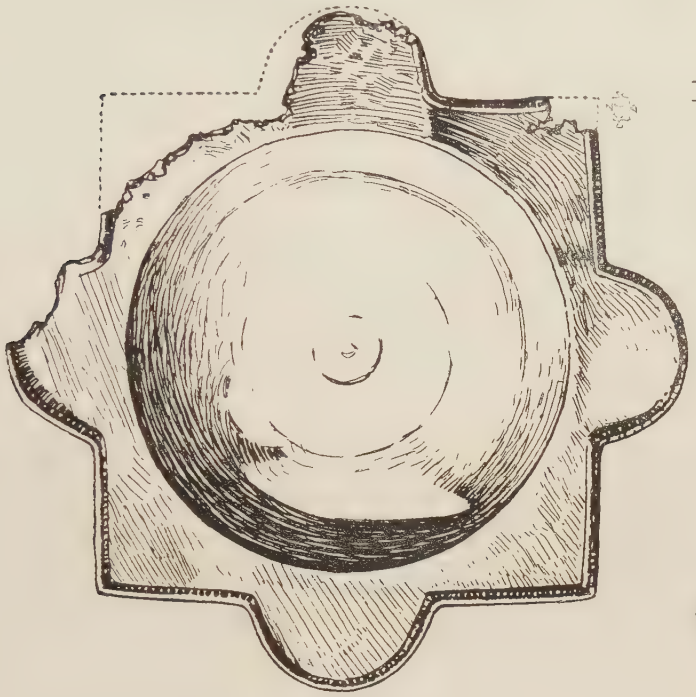


Fig. 5. Shaped dish, No. 11. ($\frac{1}{4}$.)

Fig. 6. Cup on broad foot, No. 12. ($\frac{1}{2}$.)

14. Portion of a jug of similar general form, but circular; stout handle of triangular section. On the side is scratched VICTRICI. Height, 7 inches.

Fig. 7. Drinking cup, No. 15. ($\frac{1}{2}$.)

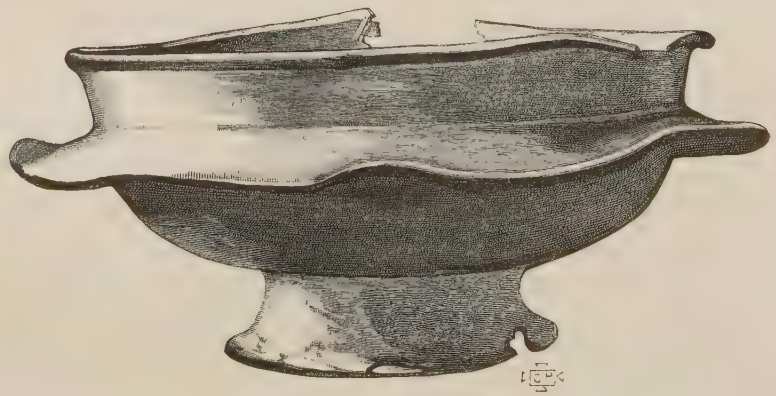


Fig. 8. Bowl with broad flange, No. 18. ($\frac{1}{2}$.)

15. Drinking cup, contracted at the top and bottom, and having vertical channels on the body to make it easier to hold. Condition very fragmentary. Height, $7\frac{3}{4}$ inches.[a]
16. Part of cup, contracting gradually from top to bottom. Height, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches.
17. Part of a similar cup. Height, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches.
18. Bowl on small foot; 1 inch below the lip is a horizontal flange 1 inch wide. Height, $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches.; diameter, 8 inches.
19. Similar bowl on a smaller scale. Height, $1\frac{7}{8}$ inch; diameter, 5 inches.

Fig. 9. Dish of tin, No. 32. ($\frac{1}{2}$.)

20. Similar bowl. Same size.
21. Hemispherical bowl with flat edge, thickened at the rim; small foot. Height, 2 inches; diameter 6 inches.
22. Similar bowl. Height, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches; diameter, $5\frac{3}{4}$ inches.
23. Similar bowl. Height, 2 inches; diameter, $6\frac{1}{8}$ inches.
24. Similar bowl. Height, $2\frac{1}{8}$ inches; diameter, 4 inches.
25. Hemispherical bowl, with narrow thick edge, short foot rim. Height, 2 inches; diameter, 5 inches.
26. Saucer, with nearly upright sides, $1\frac{1}{8}$ inch high. Raised circle on bottom. Diameter, $5\frac{3}{4}$ inches.
27. Portion of low vase, probably of oval section; foot rim. Height, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches; diameter uncertain, about 8 inches.
28. Saucer like No. 26. Height, $\frac{3}{4}$ inch; diameter, $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches.
29. Small plate, circular, with concentric mouldings and edge stamped with scallops; in centre an eight-foil. Diameter, $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches.
30. Deep dish, plain, thickened edge, faint ring on back. Diameter, 10 inches.
31. Small plate, thick and heavy; reel moulding on edge. Diameter, 6 inches.
32. Oval dish, with flat handle at one end (the other imperfect); ornament in relief, a fish within an oval border of interlacing pattern. Present length, $7\frac{3}{4}$ inches; originally 9 inches. This piece, though now much decayed, was probably the most elegantly formed and tasteful of all the objects in the hoard.

[a] Compare New Forest pottery, *Archæologia*, xxxv. pl. III. fig. 6.

APPENDIX II.

Analyses of Metal Vessels found at Appleshaw, Hants. and of some other Specimens of Roman Pewter.[a] *By* William Gowland, *Esq., Associate R.S.M., F.S.A., F.C.S.*

The description of the metal vessels found at Appleshaw given by Mr. C. H. Read in the preceding pages renders a detailed account of those I have analysed superfluous. I hence merely append to each the number, etc., under which its description will be found in his list, and will confine my remarks chiefly to the composition of the vessels, and to their classification and comparison with other examples of Roman pewter, according to the relative proportions of tin and lead which they contain.

Several of the vessels are in a very perfect state of preservation, but others are more or less corroded and converted into tin oxide and lead carbonate. Generally in the latter, even in the much oxidised parts, a thin core of unaltered metal is left, and this is thickly coated with a greyish white incrustation having the above composition. A few, however, and parts of others, when they were unearthed, consisted solely of this oxidised matter, no trace of metal remaining.

Seven specimens representative of the various kinds of vessels in the collection were selected for chemical analysis. Three other vessels of Roman pewter in the British Musuem from other localities were also analysed[b] for comparison with them.

[a] The term "pewter," in its strict or specific sense, is applied generally to two alloys of tin and lead of the following compositions:

English pewter: tin, 80 per cent., lead, 20 per cent.
French „ „ 83·5 „ „ 16·5 to 18 per cent.

In this paper the term is used generically for the sake of convenience, and includes tin-lead alloys, in which the proportions of the metals differ somewhat from the above.

[b] For permission to make these analyses I am indebted to the courtesy of our Secretary, Mr. C. H. Read.

I have besides collected all the published analyses (five only) of ancient tin-lead alloys which have been hitherto made and have inserted them together with the above in Table I. with the same object.

It is very remarkable that Roman pewter has been so rarely submitted to chemical analysis, as vessels of soft white metal have been discovered from time to time in various localities, yet in all, excepting these five cases, we find them simply described as being of tin or lead, descriptions which cannot be relied on, as they are based solely on the very deceptive external characters of the metal.

The vessels from Appleshaw were analysed with the following results:

No. 32, fig. 9. A small oval dish, slightly imperfect, bearing ornamental designs. Not much oxidised. Size about 9 by $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

Composition:

Tin.	Lead.	Iron.	Oxygen, carbonic acid, and loss.
99·18	0·14	trace	0·68

It consists of practically pure tin.

No. 27. Part of a bowl with low foot. Size originally about $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches high and about 8 inches diameter.

Composition:

Tin.	Lead.	Iron.	Copper.	Oxygen, carbonic acid, and loss.
94·35	5·06	trace	trace	0·59

This is an alloy of tin and lead containing a smaller proportion of lead than a true pewter.

The extraordinary molecular change which the metal of this vessel has undergone is of more interest to the physicist and metallurgist than to the antiquary; a brief note respecting it, however, cannot be omitted here. The metal is not much oxidised, yet it is so exceedingly brittle that it can be easily broken with the fingers. The effect of time upon it has resulted in a complete alteration of its molecular structure, the mass of the alloy being converted into an agglomeration of crystals, and to this its brittleness is due. On melting and casting a small fragment I found that the crystalline structure disappeared and the metal regained its original toughness.

No. 2, fig. 1. A large circular dish. Much corroded. Original diameter about 22 inches.

Composition:

Tin.	Lead.	Iron.	Oxygen, carbonic acid, and loss.
90.55	8·31	trace	1·14

This also contains less lead than a true pewter.

It is difficult to account for the comparatively small percentages of lead in this and the preceding alloy, unless we assume that in these cases adulterated tin was used, the cheaper metal lead being present as an adulterant of the more expensive metal tin. This is by no means an unreasonable assumption, tin thus adulterated being not altogether unknown at the present day; but more especially, as of all tin lead alloys those containing from 5 to 10 per cent. of lead are the least useful, having the least extensibility, *i.e.* they cannot be beaten out with the hammer so easily as the others without fracture, a defect which would not have escaped the observation of the Romans.

No. 12, fig. 6. A chalice-shaped cup $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches high.

Composition:

Tin.	Lead.	Iron.	Oxygen, carbonic acid, and loss.
76·41	23·04	trace	0·55

This approaches closely to English pewter in composition, and, as will be shown subsequently, it is one of the typical Roman pewters.

No. 28. A small shallow dish bearing the Christian monogram "Chi Rho." Diameter $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

Composition:

Tin.	Lead.	Iron.	Oxygen, carbonic acid and loss.
72·36	26·09	trace	1·55

When examined under the microscope, numerous minute cavities containing a yellowish incrustation, the result of oxidation, were seen to be scattered through the mass of the metal.

No. 19. A flanged cup, on a low foot, $4\frac{3}{8}$ inches diameter, 2 inches high.

Composition:

Tin.	Lead.	Iron.	Oxygen, carbonic acid and loss.
70·58	27·62	trace	1·80

This metal also contained microscopic cavities full of oxidised matter.

The last two alloys represent the type of pewter which seems to have been most in favour with the Romans.

No. 4, fig. 2. A large circular dish. Much corroded. Diameter 18½ inches.

Composition :

Tin.	Lead.	Iron.	Oxygen, carbonic acid and loss.
64·75	34·66	trace	0·59

An alloy practically identical with the "fine" solder of the modern tinner.

From the interesting character of the results obtained from the examination of the Appleshaw vessels it seemed highly probable that additional analyses, especially of specimens from other localities, would throw still further light on the composition of Roman pewter. The three analyses which follow were therefore made.

A square dish. Found at Icklingham (Suffolk). Without ornament, excepting a beaded edge, and plain concentric rings near centre. Breadth 14½ inches.

Composition :

Tin.	Lead.	Iron.	Copper.	Oxygen, carbonic acid and loss.
71·80	27·32	trace	trace	0·88

A shallow circular plate. Found at Southwark. Without ornament. Marked MARTINUS. Diameter 11½ inches.

Composition :

Tin.	Lead.	Iron.	Oxygen, carbonic acid and loss.
72·90	26·75	trace	0·35

Octagonal dish. Found at Icklingham (Suffolk) with many other vessels, without ornament, excepting concentric circles near centre. Breadth 9½ inches.

Composition :

Tin.	Lead.	Iron.	Copper.	Oxygen, carbonic acid and loss.
45·74	53·34	trace	trace	0·92

The excessive amount of lead present in this is curious, as the dish from its form and ornament was apparently not intended for common purposes, and we would therefore have expected it to have been made of an alloy much richer in tin.

It may be well now, for the sake of a clear comprehension of the preceding results and of the deductions to be drawn from them, to collect them in tabular form. I have hence arranged in the following Table, in consecutive order according to the percentage of tin present, all the foregoing analyses as well as all those of similar metal which have been previously published. The Table thus represents all that we know at present of the composition of Roman pewter and other tin-lead alloys.

Analyses of Metal Vessels found at Appleshaw (Hants.)

TABLE I.

Analyses of Roman Pewter and other Tin-Lead Alloys, etc.

(The objects are all in the British Museum, excepting Nos. 2 and 13.)

	Tin.	Lead.	Iron.	Copper.	Oxygen, Carbonic Acid, and loss.	Total.	Analyst.	Locality.	Object.
1.	99·18	·14	trace	—	·68	100·0	Gowland	Appleshaw (Hants)	Oval dish. No. 32.
2.	95·81	3·79	—	—	—	99·6	Erdmain	Langbro', near Stockholm	Large broken ring. Weight, 510 grams. Found in a peat bog, with bronze celts and ornaments.[a]
3.	94·35	5·06	trace	—	·59	100·0	Gowland	Appleshaw (Hants)	Part of a bowl on low foot. No. 27.
4.	90·55	8 31	trace	—	1·14	100·0	Gowland	Appleshaw (Hants)	Large circular dish. No. 2.
5.	79·50	20·80	—	—	—	100·3	Tookey	Thames, Battersea	Cake of metal, bearing a Roman stamp.[b]
6.	78·66	21·34	—	—	—	100·0	Macadam	Morayshire	Pieces of metal found with bronze weapons and armlets.[c]
7.	76·41	23·04	trace	—	·55	100·0	Gowland	Appleshaw (Hants)	Chalice-shaped cup. No. 12.
8.	72·90	26·75	trace	—	·35	100·0	Gowland	Southwark	Circular plate marked Martinus.
9.	72·36	26·09	trace	—	1·55	100·0	Gowland	Appleshaw (Hants)	Small dish, with "Chi Rho" symbol. No. 28.
10.	71·80	27·32	trace	trace	·88	100 0	Gowland	Icklingham (Suffolk)	Square dish.
11.	71·74	28·26	—	—	—	100·0	Tookey	Thames, Battersea	Cake of metal similar to No. 5, bearing a similar stamp, and also the "Chi Rho" symbol.[b]
12.	70·58	27·62	trace	—	1·80	100·0	Gowland	Appleshaw (Hants)	Flanged cup on foot. No. 19.
13.	69·68	30·42	—	—	—	100·0	Anfrye	Néris, near Montluçon, France	Handle of a vase found in the ruins of a Roman villa.[d]
14.	64·75	34·66	trace	—	·59	100·0	Gowland	Appleshaw (Hants)	Large circular dish. No. 4.
15.	45·74	53·34	trace	trace	·92	100·0	Gowland	Icklingham (Suffolk)	Octagonal dish.

[a] *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, ix. 441.
[b] *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London*, 2nd Series, ii. 235.
[c] *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, ix. 435 *et seq.*
[d] G. Bapst, *L'Etain*, p. 41.

A cursory glance at this table would seem to show an irreconcileable irregularity in the proportions of tin and lead contained in the specimens, but, on careful study, it will be seen that this irregularity is more apparent than real, and that the objects are by no means all of haphazard composition, but in the majority of cases their constituent metals have been mixed in definite proportions to form definite alloys.

In order to make this perfectly evident it will be necessary to consider briefly an important feature in the nature of the alloys of tin and lead, as well as the conditions under which they would be made by the Romans.

When an alloy of these two metals is prepared it is only uniform in composition during the time it is in a molten state. As soon as it begins to solidify, as when it is cast, segregation of the constituent metals commences and continues until complete solidification of the casting has taken place. Hence the vessel or object which has been cast is not of the same composition throughout, but contains in different parts different percentages of tin and consequently of lead also.

The amount of this variation depends on the size of the vessel. In the smaller vessels found at Appleshaw it would not be less than about two per cent., and in the larger might reach four per cent. of tin; so that analyses made of different parts of the vessels might vary by these amounts.

It must also be remembered that vessels deviating somewhat in composition from the definite alloys would result whenever old worn-out pieces, the composition of which could not be accurately known, were remelted with new metal, a practice universally followed by founders in all times. Another cause of deviation from standard compositions would be the use of impure tin.

If we now examine the analyses in the table, giving due weight to these sources of irregularity in the composition of the alloys, we will find that the greater number of the specimens may be placed in one or the other of the two following groups, A and B, each characterised by a special percentage of tin:

Group A, embracing Nos. 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, and 13, having an average composition of tin 71·5, lead 27·8.

Group B, embracing Nos. 5, 6, and 7, with an average composition of tin 78·2, lead 21·7.

We may therefore, I think, without assigning undue importance to the deductions to be drawn from such a small number of analyses as those given in the table, reasonably conclude that the pewter usually employed by the Romans during

the period of their occupation of Britain, was the alloy represented by Group A, and that the alloy, richer in tin, of Group B, was known but less frequently used.

It is worthy of note here that the most tenacious alloy of tin and lead closely approaches these Roman pewters in composition, a fact which bears important testimony to the knowledge of the properties of metals possessed by the Romans. In the preparation of these two pewters the Romans seem to have followed the practice, which still survives in some foundries, of taking one pound (*libra*) of the chief metal and allotting the quantity of the other metal to be mixed with it in the sub-divisions of a pound (*unciæ*). Thus the pewter of Group A was evidently made by melting together 1 *libra* of tin with $4\frac{1}{2}$ *unciæ* of lead, which, with due allowance for the oxidation of part of the tin, would yield an alloy of that composition. Pewter B was similarly the result of melting 1 *libra* of tin with 3 *unciæ* of lead. Both these kinds of pewter are represented in the two cakes of unwrought metal, Nos. 5 and 11, Table I., the latter consisting of A, and the former of B. From the stamp which these cakes bear they were attributed by our late President, Sir Wollaston Franks, to the fourth century, hence at that time both pewters were in use. It also deserves to be noticed here that the small dish from Appleshaw (No. 9, Table I.), which bears the Christian symbol "Chi Rho," is of precisely the same composition as the cake No. 11, which is marked with the same symbol.

As regards the other specimens in the table, Nos. 3 and 4, I think, for the reasons already given, consist of adulterated tin.

Nos. 14 and 15, however, are undoubtedly intentional alloys. They are respectively of the same approximate composition as the two alloys mentioned by Pliny under the name *argentarium*, one of which was made by melting together tin and lead in equal proportions, and the other by melting an alloy of two parts of lead and one of tin, with an equal weight of the latter metal, its composition thus being tin 66·6, lead 33·3. No 14 corresponds with the latter, which Pliny states was employed by dishonest persons (*improbiores*) for tinning, and No. 15 with the former, which was probably used as solder. That both these alloys were quite unfit for making domestic vessels on account of their poisonous properties, due to the large percentage of lead, cannot have been unknown to the Romans; their use for these two dishes does not hence admit of a satisfactory explanation.

As regards the date of the first use of pewter or tin-lead alloys in Britain, I may say, that so far as my investigations have gone, I have failed to find any satisfactory evidence of their employment before the Roman occupation. The pieces of metal (No. 6, Table I.) found in Morayshire might from their association with bronze weapons and armlets be attributed to an earlier date, but the con-

temporaneity of all the objects in that find is open to doubt, and, the fragments being identical in composition with ordinary Roman pewter, evidently belong to Roman times. Neither have I succeeded in tracing discoveries of specimens of pewter of earlier date in continental Europe, the broken ring No. 2, Table I., found in Sweden not being an alloy but simply impure tin.

Among the Romans alloys of tin and lead were certainly known in the time of Pliny, and although neither of the pewters A and B, afterwards in use, are specially mentioned by him, yet from some of his statements, notwithstanding their obscurity, I think we may infer that vessels of pewter were in use in his day.

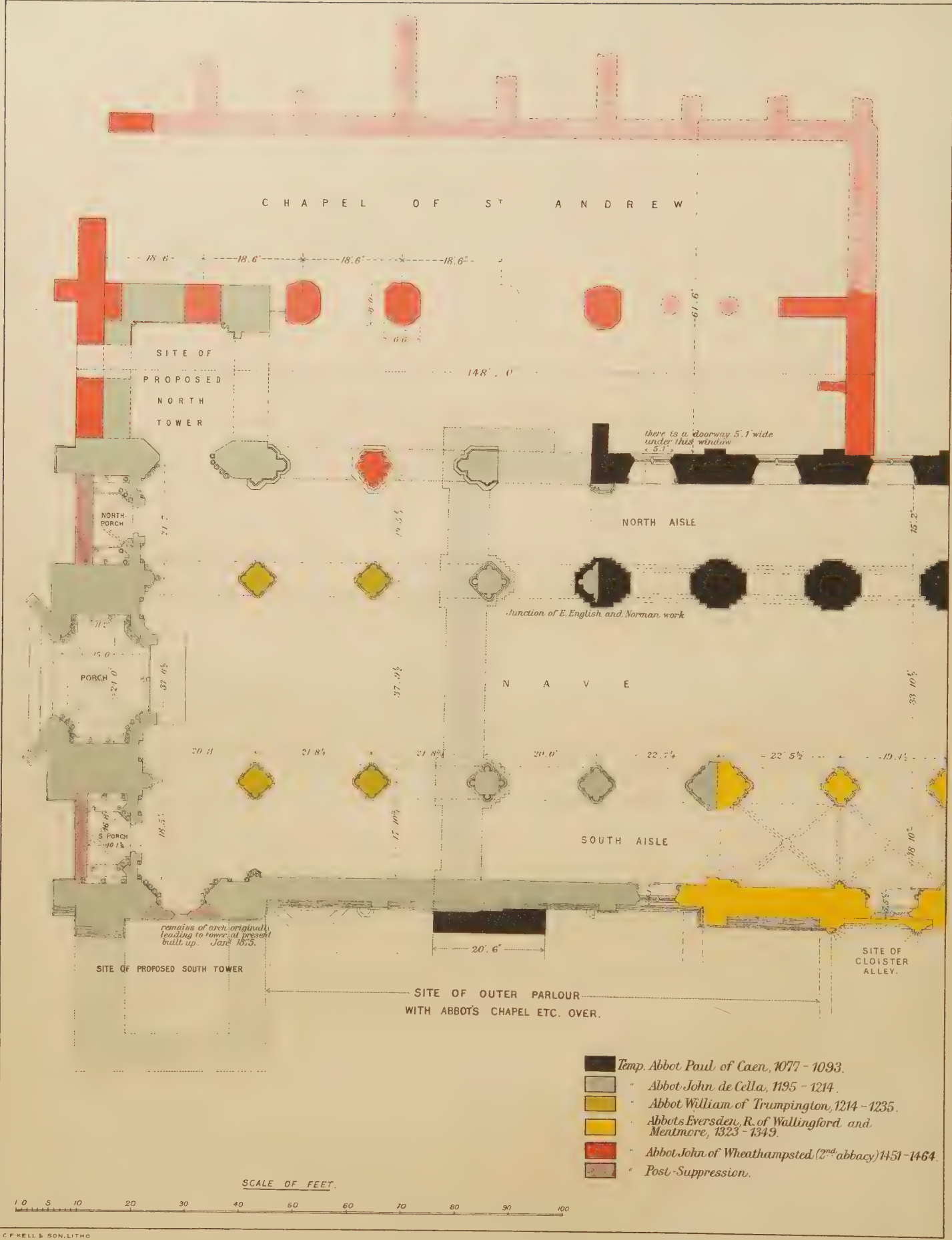
Writers earlier than Pliny give us but little help in the elucidation of this matter. Plautus, it is true, as early as the second century B.C. describes a banquet as having been served in *vasis stagneis*, but it is doubtful whether by *stagneis* he means tin or pewter.

Touching the date of the vessels found at Appleshaw it is impossible to be very precise. The identity of composition of the small dish (No. 28, page 12) and the cake of metal (No. 11, Table I.), and both also bearing the same symbol, would seem to indicate that they may be of similar age. If this assumption is correct, then this dish may be attributed approximately to the fourth century.

Nos. 12 and 19, pages 11, 12, and No. 4, page 9, possibly do not differ widely from it in date.

As regards No. 32, page 12, it is extremely probable that it is the oldest piece in the collection, as it consists of practically pure tin, which was doubtless first used in Britain without the addition of lead in the fabrication of vessels; whilst if I may be correct in regarding No. 27, page 12, and No. 2, page 9, as having been made of adulterated tin, they should be older than the vessels which consist of the definite alloys.

I have also examined the ornamental designs found on the largest dish (No. 2) from Appleshaw. They are executed in incised lines which have been made with a chisel used as a punch. The incisions were then filled with a black material resembling "niello" in appearance, so as to form a flat inlay. This black material on examination was found to be free from metallic or mineral matter, and to consist simply of bitumen coloured with some organic pigment of the nature of lamp-black.



C.F. KELL & SON, LITHO

GROUND PLAN OF THE WEST END OF ST ALBAN'S ABBEY CHURCH.

II.—*On some recent Discoveries in the Abbey Church of St. Alban.*

By William Page, *Esq.*, *F.S.A.*

Read December 2, 1897.

When the churchyard on the north side of St. Alban's Abbey was being levelled and turfed last year I was, by the kind permission of the rector and churchwardens and of the Rev. G. H. P. Glossop, M.A. (senior curate, who had generously undertaken the work), enabled to make some excavations to obtain a ground plan of the parochial chapel or parish church of St. Andrew, which adjoined the north-west side of the abbey church. As to the use of such parochial chapels, which existed at so many of the Benedictine houses, I have referred in a paper on this chapel, which I read before the St. Alban's Archæological Society last summer. I may, however, say that the origin probably dates back to the time of the reformation of monastic rule in this country by Dunstan, Oswald, and others, when the inconvenience of the presence of the laity in the monastic churches was first felt. The additional constitutions of the Benedictine Order likewise tended to make the monasteries more exclusive, and disputes arose in consequence between the monks and the laity as to the use of the church, usually ending in a composition being made, under which most of these parochial chapels were built. The first we hear of St. Andrew's chapel is a little while after the dedication of the Norman church of St. Alban in 1115, when we find it was dedicated by Herbert de Losinga, bishop of Norwich. The position of this Norman chapel is not known, but it is evident that its existence was but short, for it was rebuilt and considerably

enlarged, apparently at the end of the twelfth or beginning of the thirteenth century by abbots John de Cella and William of Trumpington. The foundations, however, which we uncovered last year were those of the chapel which was commenced about 1454 and completed in 1462. It was 148 feet in length by 61 feet 6 inches in width, and consisted of a nave, north aisle, chancel, and a chapel, probably that of St. Mary Magdalene, on the north side of the chancel. The principal doorway was at the west end of the nave, which opened into the thirteenth-century north-west tower, commenced by abbot John de Cella at the end of the twelfth century and abandoned by his successor abbot William of Trumpington. This formed a porch, or *vestibulum* as it was called, and around the interior of it there remained the thirteenth-century stone seating, a plan and section of which are shown in Messrs. Buckler's *History of the Architecture of the Abbey Church.*[a] The level of the tower floor was that of the thirteenth-century work, while the remainder of the chapel, which was of the fifteenth-century level, was about 2 feet 6 inches higher, and was reached by a flight of steps on the east side of the tower foundations. The south side of the nave was open to the abbey church by the thirteenth-century tower arch at the west end, and by three other arches eastward of it, while on the north side of the nave there was an arcade of five bays. Mr. W. H. St. John Hope has made a suggestion, which is somewhat corroborated by documentary evidence, that the north-west part of the north aisle of the abbey church formed the south aisle of this chapel. There was an entrance to the chancel from the abbey church, and the chancel was divided from the chapel on its north side by a wall about 13 feet long, westward of which was an arcade of three bays. In consequence of burials I had to restrict my excavations, and there are several points which, on that account, I was unable to clear up. The chapel was pulled down in 1552; the abbey church was sold, in 1553, to the Corporation of St. Alban's for £40 and made parochial.[b] For further particulars as to St. Andrew's chapel I would refer to my paper before-mentioned.

In working out the plan of St. Andrew's chapel it occurred to me, for various reasons, that possibly the Norman church did not extend to the present west front, as stated by Messrs. Buckler in their architectural history of the church, and followed by more recent writers on the subject. With the idea of investigating this question I obtained permission from the rector and churchwardens to dig

[a] I. C. and C. A. Buckler, *A History of the Architecture of the Abbey Church of St. Alban, with especial reference to the Norman structure* (London, 1847), 87.

[b] Patent Roll, 7 Edward VI. part 3, m. (1).

trenches at the third and fourth bays (from the west) on the south side of the abbey church to see if there was any indication of foundations for a south-west tower there. When I had opened these trenches Mr. Hope was good enough to come down and give me the benefit of his valuable assistance, and to him I am indebted for suggestions and information without which I should not have ventured to make these remarks. We found here the foundations shown upon the plan (Plate II.) which give a thickening of the south aisle wall 20 feet 6 inches in length and 4 feet 1 inch in width, and I would suggest that these foundations indicate the position of the Norman west front, and that abbot John de Cella's work is really an extension of the church three bays westward. I have dug some trenches on the north side of the church to see if there was there a corresponding thickening of the wall, but I found nothing, which, however, is not surprising when we consider that the wall here was pulled down in the twelfth or thirteenth century, was rebuilt in a slightly different place in 1552, and was again pulled down and rebuilt in a different place within the last few years by Lord Grimthorpe.[a]

As is well known, the abbey church of St. Alban was entirely rebuilt by the first Norman abbot, Paul of Caen, with the materials which had been collected by his predecessors from the ruins of the neighbouring Roman city of *Verulamium*.[b] This church was begun in 1077, completed in 1088, and the ceremony of dedication was performed in 1115.[c] As early as the time of Abbot Warin (1185-1195) the rebuilding of the west front was contemplated, and that abbot left a hundred marks to be devoted to the purpose.[d] It is not likely that the rage for rebuilding would have caused active steps to be taken for pulling down the Norman west front almost within a century of its completion, if it were the beautiful structure which the Messrs. Buckler represent it to have been. With the meagre information which we have upon the subject, it is difficult to speculate as to what this west front can have resembled, but from the dimensions of the ground plan it would appear to have

[a] At a depth of 4 feet 6 inches I came upon a nineteenth century brick, showing that the ground had been recently disturbed.

[b] "Iste hanc ecclesiam, cæteraque ædificia, præter pistrinam, vel pistorium, et pinsinochium, reædificavit, ex lapidibus et tegulis veteris civitatis Verolamii, et materie lignea, quam invenit a prædecessoribus suis collectam et reservatam." *Gesta Abbatum Monasterii Sancti Albani* (Rolls Series, 28), i. 52.

[c] *Ibid.* i. 53, 71.

[d] "Hic quoque Abbas Garinus, cum se jam sentiret ab hoc sæculo migraturum, centum marcas dimisit successori suo, ad frontem ecclesiæ renovandam." *Gesta Abbatum Monasterii Sancti Albani* (Rolls Series 28), i. 215.

been somewhat similar to the west front of the cathedral church of Norwich or that of Rochester.

With the west front in the position proposed we should have a nave of normal length, about 200 feet long, and composed of ten bays. Mr. Hope has suggested as the probable reason for the thirteenth century work having been carried one bay farther on the south side than it was on the north, that the last Norman bay on this side was showing signs of that weakness which, a little more than a hundred years later, caused the five next bays to fall down. The arch crossing the aisle on the north side at the westernmost Norman pier, I thought, before we had made these excavations, might possibly have formed the eastern arch into a north-west Norman tower, but seeing that there were apparently no towers in the Norman west front and that there was no intention of having any at the time the foundations were laid, I imagine this arch and that on the south side must have been erected for the purpose of tying the nave arcading while the west front was being rebuilt, and this would account for the arch on the south side being a bay further east than that on the north, each being on the line where the thirteenth century work was intended to be begun.

Abbot Warin was succeeded in 1195 by abbot John de Cella, who, with the hundred marks left by his predecessor, commenced in 1197 his alterations at the west end.[a] This abbot was a scholar, and, judging from his work which has been left to us, he must have been a man of exquisite artistic taste, but at the same time utterly devoid of all business capacity. He left the supervision of his work to others, by whom he was cheated, and commenced a building far more expensive than he could ever have expected to finish.[b]

According to the *Gesta Abbatum*, abbot John de Cella first pulled down the wall (*murum*) of the west front, which was held together with old tiles and indissoluble cement and having dug and thrown out the soil (*confosso et projecto fundo*) he found that in a little time the hundred marks and much more had been expended, and the walls had not reached the ground level. Further money was obtained, but the work, like the sea, swallowed up all sources of supply. This account, I think, tallies with my contention regarding John de Cella's extension of the church,

[a] "Horum igitur duorum fratrum (*i.e.* Reymund the prior and Roger de Parco the cellarer) fretus consiliis, et fultus adminiculis, stimulante conscientia, (receperat enim a prædecessore suo, Abbate Garino, ut prædictum est, centum marcas, ad opus ecclesiæ repositas et deputatas,) murum frontis ecclesiæ nostræ in terram diruit, veteribus tegulis et cæmento indissolubili compactum," *Gesta Abbatum Monasterii Sancti Albani* (Rolls Series, 28), i. 218.

[b] *Ibid.* i. 218-220.

for there would have been no necessity to dig out the soil, if the new work, as supposed by Messrs. Buckler and others, was to be placed upon the former Norman foundations, and, as Mr. Hope has pointed out to me, the word *murus* would well apply to a plain west front without towers, such as Norwich, where otherwise it would not have been applicable. What I would suggest is that abbot John de Cella's scheme was to build at a lower level an entirely new west front with flanking towers 40 feet square, about 73 feet westward of the west end of the Norman church, and had this scheme been completed the west front of St. Alban's abbey would probably have been almost without a rival. As is well known, however, the means for carrying out this scheme failed, and the more practical but less artistic abbot, William of Trumpington, who succeeded in 1214, abandoned the western towers and generally curtailed the scheme of his predecessor.[a] In further corroboration of the contention as to the extension of the church I may say that the masonry of the Norman foundations is quite different from that of the thirteenth-century work. The former is composed almost wholly of flints with occasionally a bonding course of Roman tiles, and the mortar is white and gritty.[b] The masonry of Abbot John de Cella is very largely composed of Roman tiles, carefully laid, and contains also flints and pieces of clunch, and the sand used in the mortar is clean and of a bright yellow colour. It is important to note that although we exposed the foundations of the wall two bays further west we could find nothing westward but what was built with the yellow mortar. The foundations of the north-west tower, which we uncovered the year before last, have yellow mortar and carefully-laid Roman tiles, showing, I think, that they are thirteenth century work.

The Messrs. Buckler further state that when the sleeper wall under the south arcade of the nave was exposed they found a straight joint at a spot they unfortunately do not specify, but of which they give a drawing.[c] Eastward of this is a flint rubble wall corresponding to the Norman work, and westward are carefully laid tiles and stones similar to the thirteenth century masonry. The best way of absolutely proving the position of the Norman west front would be to

[a] "Opusque frontale ipsius ecclesiæ, post quandam nimis damnosam ruinam, misertus ac miseratus Abbas Willelmus, eo quod tam tædiosam moram protraxerit, suis humeris sibi suscepit supportando perficiendum. Quod infra breve tempus, cum tecto de præelecta materie, tignis et trabibus, cum laquearibus, cumque vitreis fenestris, ad unguem perfectis, veteri operi, decenter plumbo coopertum, continuavit." *Gesta Abbatum Monasterii Sancti Albani* (Rolls Series, 28), i. 281.

[b] This is identical with the Norman mortar which I obtained from a put-log hole in the east wall of the north transept.

[c] *Op. cit.* 13.

dig a trench inside the church, but that is now, I fear, impossible. I venture, however, to think that from the evidence which has been laid before you, there is much to be said in support of my theory, but it is with some hesitation that I have brought it forward, as it is in conflict with the opinions of such eminent authorities as the two Bucklers and others. I have recently found that the same proposition as I have here set out was suggested in the *Gentleman's Magazine* in 1819.[a]

In conclusion I wish to express my thanks to our Fellow Mr. James Neale for the loan of his large-scale ground-plan of the abbey church, from which the accompanying plan, with the addition of the foundations discovered at my recent excavations, has been taken.

[a] Part I. p. 593.

III.—*On a Grant of Arms under the Great Seal of Edward IV. to Louis de Bruges, seigneur de la Gruthuyse and earl of Winchester*, 1472, *with some remarks on the arms of English earldoms. By* W. H. St. John Hope, *Esq.*, *M.A.*

Read December 16, 1897.

The document which I have the honour to exhibit to the Society is a grant of arms under letters patent of Edward IV. to a foreigner, Louis de Bruges, seigneur de la Gruthuyse, who was created earl of Winchester in 1472.

Every grant of arms is generally in itself a more or less interesting document, but there are, as I shall hope to show, several reasons why this is of greater interest than usual.

In vol. xxvi. of *Archaeologia*[a] is printed a communication from Sir Frederic Madden, read before the Society on 12th June, 1834, entitled "Narratives of the arrival of Louis de Bruges, seigneur de la Gruthuyse, in England, and of his creation as earl of Winchester, in 1472."

Sir Frederic Madden's paper, besides containing a succinct biography of Louis de Bruges himself, describes fully the circumstances which led the king of England to invest a foreigner with an English earldom and confer upon him a special grant of arms.

As a recapitulation of these is necessary for the elucidation of the document under notice, I will relate the facts as briefly as I can.

In October, 1470, after the reverse of fortune by which Edward IV. was obliged to leave his crown and kingdom in the hands of the earl of Warwick, he set sail, together with his brother Richard, duke of Gloucester, the queen's brother Anthony, lord Scales, the lord Hastings, the king's chamberlain, and some few hundred followers, "in three small vessels for the dominions of his brother-in-law, the duke of Burgundy, under whose protection his only hope of safety seemed to lie."

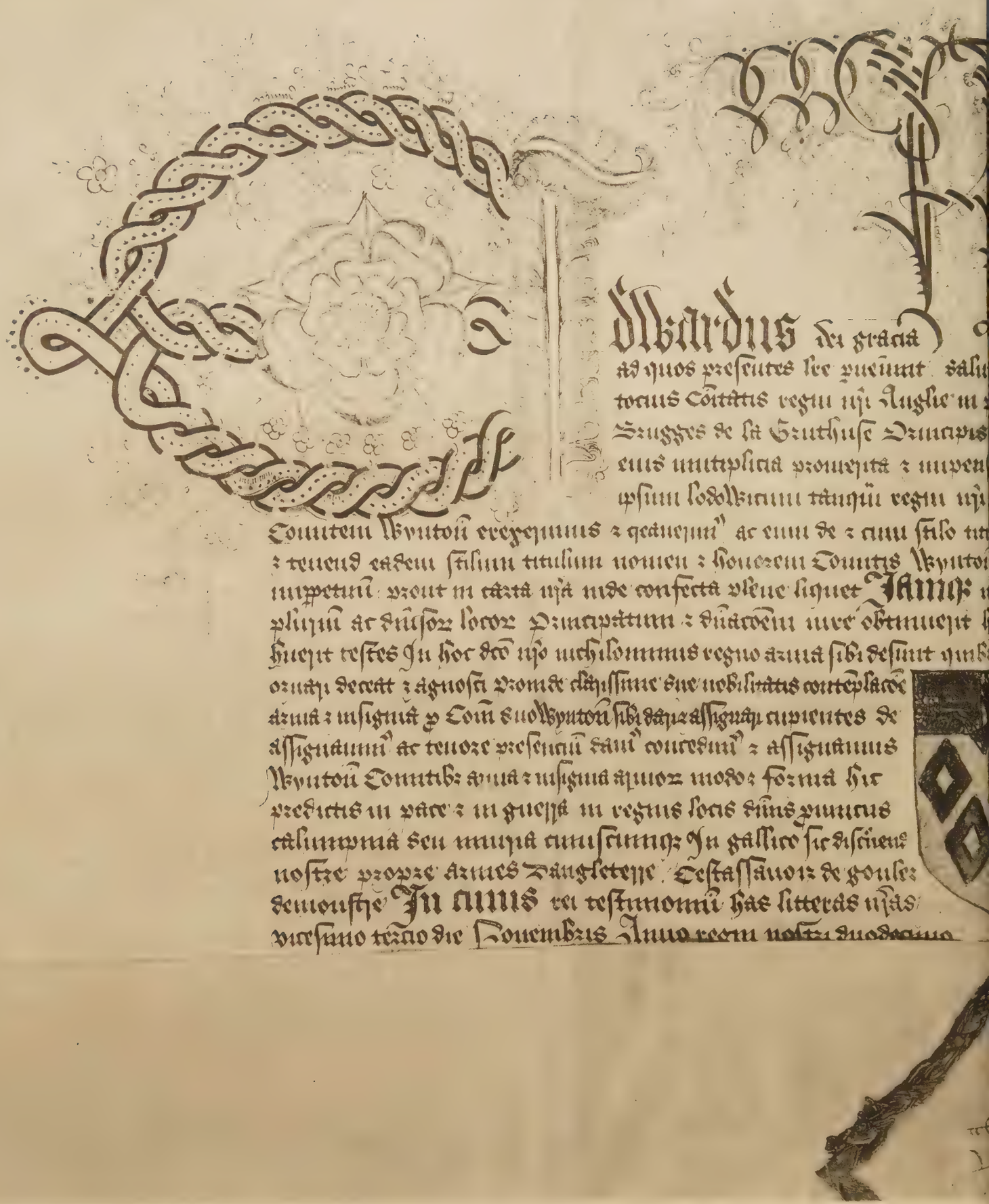
[a] Pp. 265—286.

Edward "had not long quitted the coast before his vessels were descried by some piratical ships belonging to the Easterlings, which gave chace, and it was with difficulty that the King and his companions reached the port of Alcmaer, about six leagues to the north of Haerlem, into which the Easterlings, from the superior size of their ships, and the tide being low, could not follow them. In this peril, with the enemy anchored at a short distance, awaiting only the return of the tide to make Edward a captive, it was very fortunate for the King, that the Governor of Holland under the Duke of Burgundy, Louis de Bruges, Seigneur de la Gruthuyse, happened to be at the time on the spot. On being informed of Edward's danger, he immediately went to the King's vessel, welcomed him with every mark of respect, and conducted him to the Hague, where he entertained the King at his own expense from the 9th October to the 26th December, when they set forward together to the town of Aerdenbourg. The following day they arrived at the Château of Gruthuyse, situated at Oostcamp, a village distant about a mile from the town of Bruges, and after stopping there two days, proceeded to Aire, in Artois, where the mother-in-law of the Duke of Burgundy (Edward's sister) was dwelling. After receiving from the Duke the strongest assurances of assistance, Edward returned to Bruges on the 13th January, 1470-1, and was lodged, with a part of his suite, at the Hotel of Gruthuyse, until the 19th of the following month, when he departed for Zeeland, where the ships furnished by the duke for his return to England awaited him." [a]

The Louis de Bruges to whom the king of England thus became so greatly indebted was born about 1422, and succeeded his father, John de Bruges, as seigneur de la Gruthuyse, prince of Steynhuyse, and lord of Avilghem, Hamste, Oostcamp, Bevern, etc. about 1443. He became cupbearer to Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy, in 1449, and in 1452 was made governor of Bruges. He was knighted in the following year, and in 1461 the Order of the Golden Fleece was conferred upon him. He held various offices of trust under the duke of Burgundy, and in October, 1466, was joint ambassador to England to conclude the treaty of peace and settle the conditions of the marriage between the duke's son, Charles the Bold, and the princess Margaret of York. It was probably during his visit that he first made the king's acquaintance. In 1470, as we have already seen, Louis was chiefly responsible for saving Edward from a possible captivity, and in contributing to his restoration to the throne of England.

Early in 1472 an embassy from Edward arrived at Bruges, and was received and entertained by the seigneur de la Gruthuyse.

[a] *Archaeologia*, xxvi. 266



GRANT OF ARMS TO LOUIS DE BRUG

EARL OF WINCHESTER, 1472.

In September of the same year he again visited England as ambassador from the duke of Burgundy, when the opportunity arose for Edward to endeavour to requite his kindness. He was most honourably received at Calais, Dover, and other points on his journey to London, and paid a visit to the king at Windsor, where much entertainment was given in his honour. On St. Edwards's Day, the 13th October, the king in full Parliament caused Louis to be openly complimented by the Speaker for the "greate Humanyte and Kyndenes of the lorde Grauthause, shewed when the Kinge was in the Countries of Holland and Flaundres." He was also on the same occasion created Earl of Winchester, and invested with that dignity by the king in person by the girding of a sword after the ancient manner. The letters patent of Louis's creation then issued, and, borne by Garter king of arms in the procession, have been printed at length in *Archaeologia* by Sir Frederic Madden.

The king therein states that it has seemed good to him to decorate with fitting offices of honour "that most brave man and notable soldier Louis de Bruges, lord de la Gruthuyse, and prince of Steynhuyse, etc. who for his most grateful kindness has deserved whatsover is best from us." He then recounts the services rendered by him "when formerly we were driven by a happy fate into that province of our very dear brother the duke of Burgundy, over which the aforesaid Louis most worthily ruled," and advances him to the earldom of Winchester with the style, title, name, and honour due to the same, to have and to hold the same for himself and his heirs male for ever. For the proper maintenance of his new dignity the king further grants to the same earl Louis and his heirs aforesaid an annuity of £200, of which £20 was to be paid him by the sheriff from the farms, profits, etc. of the county of Southampton, and £180 from the customs and revenues of the port of Southampton by the officers and collectors of the customs and subsidies.

The letters patent are dated at the palace of Westminster on the day of Louis's investiture with the earldom of Winchester, namely, 13th October, 1472.

A few weeks later the king, by writ under the sign manual directed the chancellor of England to issue letters patent conferring upon Louis de Bruges, earl of Winchester, certain arms and ensigns of arms. By the kind permission of the Master of the Rolls, and the courtesy of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records, the original writ with the arms depicted in the centre is here exhibited. The letters patent directed to be issued in accordance with this writ came into my possession a short time ago, and I have the honour of exhibiting them also. (Plate III.) As usual, they are written on vellum, and measure $19\frac{5}{8}$ inches in width by 11 inches in depth (including the fold at the bottom), and the fragments of the

great seal in green wax are still appended by a pink and blue plaited silk cord with an intertwined gold thread. The initial letter, which is elaborately drawn, encloses a large York rose, and has the upright stroke formed by an ostrich feather transfixing a small scroll. Both the initial and the other flourished initials of the first line are further ornamented with flowers.

The text of the grant is as follows:

Edwardus dei gracia Rex Anglie Francie et Dominus Hibernie Omnibus ad quos presentes litere pervenerint salutem. Cum nos pridem in pleno parliamento nostro ad requisicionem et rogatum tocius Communitatis regni nostri Anglie in parliamento nostro existentis in laudem nobilis et magnifici domini domini Lodowici de Brugges de la Gruthuse Principis de Steenhuse domini de Avelghieñ de Spiers de Aemstede et de Oestampe ob ejus mu[l]tiplicia promerita et impensa nobis obsequia gratissima per id temporis quo in transmarinis versabamur ipsum Lodowicum tanquam regni nostri predicti nostrique felicis status zelatorem congruis honoribus premiantes in Comitem Wyntoñ erexerimus et creaverimus ac eum de et cum stilo titulo nomine et honore eidem debitis per cincturam gladij realiter investiverimus. Habenda et tenenda eadem stilum titulum nomen et honorem Comitis Wyntoñ eidem Lodowico de Brugges et heredibus suis masculis de corpore suo exeuntibus imperpetuum prout in carta nostra inde confecta plene liquet. Jamque nos ulterius considerantes quod quamquam clarus sit origine et in natali sua provincia plurium ac diversorum locorum Principatum et dominacionem jure obtinuerit hereditario Arma quoque et insignia sue nobilitatis simul et dominacionum clarissimos habuerit testes In hoc dicto nostro nichilominus regno arma sibi desunt quibus eum tam hic quam alibi per orbem ut Comitem Anglicum insigniis Comiti dignis ornari deceat et agnosci proinde clarissime sue nobilitatis contemplacione ac ut domi forisque et bello et pace nostra largicione decoratus incedat ornacior arma et insignia pro Comitatu suo Wyntoñ sibi dari et assignari cupientes de liberalitate et gracia nostris ac premissorum consideracione dedimus concessimus et assignavimus ac tenore presencium damus concedimus et assignamus eidem Lodowico et heredibus suis masculis de corpore suo exeuntibus Wyntoñ Comitibus arma et insignia armorum modo et forma hic depicta habenda portanda et utenda eidem Lodowico et heredibus suis predictis in pace et in guerra in regnis locis dominiis provinciis terris et regionibus quibuscumque imperpetuum absque impeticione calumpnia seu injuria cujuscumque. In gallico sic discernenda Il port dasur a dix Mascles dor enorme dung Cantoñ de nostre propre armes Dangleterre: Cestassavoir de goules a ung lipard passaunt dor armee dasur sicome le picture demonstre. In cujus rei

testimonium has litteras nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Teste me ipso apud Westmonasterium vicesimo tercio die Novembris Anno regni nostri duodecimo.

Per ipsum Regem et de data predicta auctoritate parliamenti.

Ive.[a]

The grant may be thus translated:

Edward, by the grace of God king of England and France and lord of Ireland, to all to whom the present letters may come Greeting. Since some time ago in our full Parliament, at the requisition and request of the whole Commons of our Kingdom of England appearing in our Parliament in praise of the noble and magnificent lord, lord Louis de Bruges de la Gruthuyse, prince of Steynhuyse, lord of Avilghem, Spiers, Hamste and Oostcamp, on account of his numerous deserts and most welcome kindnesses paid to us while we dwelled abroad, rewarding with fit honours as one zealous of our Kingdom aforesaid and of our happy state, we raised and created the same Louis earl of Winchester, and actually invested him by and with the style, title, name, and honour due to him by the girding of a sword. To have and to hold the same style, title, name, and honour of earl of Winchester to the same Louis de Bruges and the heirs male of his body begotten for ever, as in our charter issued on that occasion is fully made manifest.

Now we, further considering that, although he be illustrious in origin, and by birthright in his own province has obtained by hereditary right the principality and dominion of many and divers places, and also has arms and ensigns of his nobility and most illustrious witnesses of his dominions, nevertheless in this our said Kingdom he lacks arms, with which both here as elsewhere, through the whole world, it may become him as earl of Winchester to be adorned with the ensigns worthy of an earl, and in like sort to be recognised by the contemplation of his most illustrious nobility, and that at home and abroad, in war and in peace, he may go more ornately decorated by our bounty, desiring that arms and ensigns for his earldom of Winchester may be given and assigned to him, of our liberality and grace and in consideration of the premises we have given, granted, and assigned, and by tenor of [these] presents give, grant, and assign to the same Louis and his heirs male of his body begotten earls of Winchester, the arms and ensigns of arms in manner and form here depicted. To have, to bear, and to use to the same Louis and his heirs aforesaid, in peace and in war, in kingdoms, places, dominions, provinces, lands, and regions whatsoever for ever without hindrance, detraction, or injury of anyone. To be thus distinguished in French: Il port dasur

[a] The grant is also printed, from the Patent Roll, by Thomas Rymer in his *Fœdera, Conventiones, Literæ*, etc. (London, 1727), xi. 765.

a dix mascles dor enorme dung cantoñ de nostre propre armes d'Angleterre. That is to say, of *gules, a leopard passant or, armed azure*, as the picture sheweth. In witness of which thing we have made these letters patent. Witness my hand at Westminster, the 23rd day of November, in the 12th year of our reign. By the king himself, and on the date aforesaid, by authority of Parliament. Ive.

Before noticing the special provisions of this document it will be convenient to proceed with a further curious point in its history.

Louis de Bruges, to whom both the patent of nobility and this grant of arms were issued, had married, in 1455, Margaret, daughter of Henry van Borssle, lord of Vere and count of Grandpré. By her he had a son, John de Bruges, who, at his father's death on the 24th November, 1492, succeeded him as earl of Winchester.

On 8th May, 1500, the king of England, on pretence of avoiding the plague, went over to Calais and had an interview with the archduke Philip of Burgundy in the church of St. Peter without the town. After this, according to Hall, "the Frenche kyng Lewes the .xii. sent to vysite the kynge, the lorde Gronthouse governoure of Picardy, and the lorde Merneiliers, bayly of Amyas, whiche declared to the kyng the getting of Millayn, and takyng of the duke, whiche lordes were highly feasted and with great rewardes departed."[a] The king returned to England on 16th June.

The "lord Gronthouse" here mentioned was John de Bruges, earl of Winchester. He had been chamberlain to Louis XI. and chancellor of France, and among other offices he was at this time grand master of the Crossbowmen of France. In the face of Hall's statement as to the favourable reception by Henry VII. of him and his fellow ambassador, it is not easy to explain the following memorandum, which is endorsed on the grant of arms under notice:

> Vacant iste litere patentes quia sursumreddite et restitute fuerunt ad manus domini nostri Regis Henrici septimi apud villam Cales anno regni sui .xv°. ea intencione ut cancellentur et dampnentur. Ideo presentes litere sic ut premittitur sursumreddite et restitute cancellantur et dampnantur.

A similar entry is made against the enrolment of the letters patent on the Patent Roll, where the document itself is also crossed out.

We further learn that the surrender of this grant of arms by John de Bruges

[a] *The Vnison of the two noble and illustre famelies of Lancastre & Yorke*, etc. (London, 1548). *The politique gouernaunce of Kyng Henry vii.* f. lii.

accompanied his resignation of the earldom of Winchester conferred upon his father and his heirs male by Edward IV. by tendering to the king the letters patent then granted; for against the enrolment of this on the Charter Roll is a like entry to that made on the Patent Roll against the grant of arms.

What were the reasons that led John de Bruges to take this step I have not been able to learn, but, looking to the condition of affairs on the continent, and the relations existing between England, France, Spain, etc. it is possible that earl John of Winchester desired to renounce his fealty to the king of England for reasons similar to those which caused Ingelram sire de Coucy and earl of Bedford to resign his companionship of the Order of the Garter together with his fealty to Edward III. in 1377.[a]

Here I must leave the historical aspect of the case and return to a discussion of several interesting heraldic questions.

The arms of Louis de Bruges, as we learn from his seal, were; *Quarterly*, 1 and 4, *or, a cross sable* (Gruthuyse); 2 and 3, *gules, a saltire argent* (Van der Aa).[b] The arms, therefore, which were granted him by Edward IV. as "ensigns worthy of an earl" for the "arms and ensigns of his earldom of Winchester," belong to the class which some heralds have termed "arms of succession or feudal arms," borne by the holders of certain lordships or estates. The arms under notice, it will be observed, are made up of the mascles borne by Roger de Quincy, who was earl of Winchester from 1235 to 1264, but on a field *azure* instead of *gules*. This change of tincture was doubtless made to allow of the augmentation of a canton, "de nostre propre armes D'Angleterre," as the king describes it, that is, of *gules with a lion passant gardant or*.

To find a case exactly parallel to this is by no means easy. Of later examples, there are, of course, instances, but I do not know of another medieval grant of an English dignity to a foreigner, accompanied by a grant of arms or the right to bear arms pertaining to such dignity. Of grants of arms under the great seal there are a number enrolled on the Patent, Vascon, and Charter Rolls, amongst which may be cited as familiar to antiquaries those granted by Henry VI. to his colleges at Eton and Cambridge.[c] Three instances of letters patent ennobling foreigners and granting them arms are printed in Rymer's *Fœdera*[d] from the Vascon Rolls, and the writ for another in favour of Arnald and Grimond de Bordeu is here exhibited

[a] Thomas Rymer, *Fœdera, Conventiones, Litteræ*, etc. (London, 1728), vii. 172.

[b] G. Demay, *Inventaire des Sceaux de la Flandre* (Paris, 1873), i. 89 [No. 662].

[c] Both grants are printed in Bentley's *Excerpta Historica, or Illustrations of English History* (London, 1831), 47, 362.

[d] Vols. x. 718, xi. 81, and xi. 101.

in illustration by the courtesy of the Deputy Keeper. But none of these grants conferred any English title or dignity. Two similar writs under the sign manual of Henry VI. are preserved in the Record Office for the issue of letters patent ennobling and granting arms to Nicholas Cloos and to Roger and Thomas Keys for their services in connection with the building of the king's colleges at Cambridge and Eton.[a] It is clear from these that ennobling simply raised a man to the rank of gentleman and empowered him to bear arms, and did not necessarily make him even an esquire. One more grant may be mentioned, of an annuity of £100 under letters patent of Edward IV. in 1461 to Francis, bishop of Terni, and authorising him and his nephews, Bartholomew and Thomasinus, to bear a white rose (*divisam nostram*) on their arms.[b] Here again, however, no dignity or title was conferred.

Perhaps our nearest parallel to the grant to Louis de Bruges is that made in 1414, by Henry V. to his brother John, earl of Kendal and duke of Bedford, of the reversion of the earldom and lordship of the honour of Richmond, "cum armis integris eisdem Comitatui Honori et Dominio de Richmond annexis et pertinentibus."[c]

So far, unfortunately, I have not been able to find any instance of the use by the duke of Bedford of the arms of his earldom and honour of Richmond, and it is somewhat uncertain what they might have been. The first earl of Richmond whose arms we know was Peter de Braine, son of Robert, count of Dreux and Braine. He married, in 1213, Alice, daughter of Constance, *de jure* countess of Richmond and duchess of Brittany (*ob.* 1201), by her third husband, Guy de Thoumars, and thus became earl of Richmond and duke of Brittany *jure uxoris*. His own arms were *checky or and azure*, to which he added on his marriage *a quarter ermine*, for Brittany. His son and grandson, both earls of Richmond, bore the same arms with *a bordure gules*, on which the next earl, John de Bretagne III. placed lions of England, out of compliment to his mother, a daughter of Henry III. In each instance the ermine quarter is "over all."

By the death of the fourth John, earl of Richmond, in 1341, the earldom passed to his half-brother John, called "de Montfort," but in 1342 it reverted to the Crown and was conferred by Edward III. upon his son John of Ghent, who held it until 1372. It was clearly on this account that John of Ghent as earl of Richmond differenced his paternal arms, *France Ancient and England quarterly* with *a label ermine*. In 1372 the earldom of Richmond was surrendered by John

[a] Both writs are printed in Bentley's *Excerpta Historica*, 49, 364. There is no record of their enrolment either or the Patent, Charter, or Close Rolls.

[b] Thomas Rymer, *Fœdera, Conventiones, Literæ*, etc. (London, 1727), xi. 479, 480.

[c] *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, iv. 41.

of Ghent and conferred upon John de Montfort II. duke of Brittany, whose arms were simply *ermine*. His third wife was Joan of Navarre, who after his death married Henry, duke of Lancaster, afterwards Henry IV. Their son John, duke of Bedford, is the prince upon whom his brother, Henry V., conferred the reversion of the earldom and honour of Richmond in 1414. The arms of this prince were *France Modern and England quarterly* with a label, of which two points were *ermine*, and three points *azure charged with fleurs-de-lis or*. This I would venture to call a label of Richmond and Lancaster. The seal, however, whereon this label first occurs is anterior to the assumption by the prince of any title, and as a label wholly of Richmond was borne by another brother, Thomas, duke of Clarence (1412-1421), it seems as if in both cases the label was borne in memory of John of Ghent, and had lost its significance with regard to the earldom of Richmond. This is confirmed by the fact that later holders of the earldom did not use any ermine in their arms or labels. The question, therefore, as to what were the arms of the earldom and honour of Richmond cannot yet be regarded as satisfactorily settled.

That the arms of the holders or possessors of certain of the ancient earldoms or lordships were regarded as those of the earldom or lordship, and as hereditary with it, is borne out by a number of interesting examples. A clear case in point, because no descent of a family is involved, is that of the lordship of Man. This was granted in 1333 to William de Montacute, earl of Salisbury, and the well-known arms of the lordship are quartered with Montacute on the seal of his son and successor William. In 1395 the lordship was purchased by William le Scrope, who on his seal assumed the arms of Man and bore them alone, differenced with his label as eldest son of his father.

The lordship of Man was forfeited by Scrope in 1400 and granted to the earl of Northumberland, but again forfeited. It eventually passed in 1406 to Sir John Stanley, in whose family it remained until 1736. On the stall-plate of Thomas Stanley, first earl of Derby, 1485-1504, the three legs which form the arms of Man are borne as a quartering, and they were so used by his son and successor.

The banners of arms that appear on the seals of Walter Hungerford, lord of Heytesbury and Homet, and of William, lord Fitzhugh and of Marmion, may be instances of a similar kind.

The arms of the county palatine of Chester, *azure, three yarbs or*, used by Ranulf de Blondeville, earl of Chester, 1181-1232, have ever since been recognised as such. They are so shown for instance on the second great seal of Henry IV. On the counter-seal of Richard III. for the county palatine, and that of 1609, they are

impaled by the royal arms. On later seals, *temp.* Charles I., of 1660, and 1706, the garbs alone appear.

The arms of the county palatine of Lancaster, *England with a label of France*, afford another instance. Originally adopted by Edmund Crouchback, earl of Lancaster, 1265-96, as his personal arms, they have continued to be recognised as the arms, first of the earldom, then of the duchy, down to the present day.

So too with the arms of the earldom and dukedom of Norfolk, *England with a label of three points argent.* These were first used by Thomas de Brotherton, son of Edward I., created earl of Norfolk in 1312. In 1397 Thomas Mowbray, great grandson of Thomas de Brotherton, and earl of Nottingham, was made earl marshal, and a few months later created duke of Norfolk. On his seal he impales the arms of Edward the Confessor, which he was specially authorised to wear, with those of Norfolk, *i.e.* de Brotherton. His three immediate descendants and successors in the dukedom also laid aside the Mowbray arms for those of Norfolk. On the seal of one of these, John Mowbray, 1432-1461, the Norfolk arms are placed between two shields, one of the arms of the earldom of Surrey and Warrenne (*Checky or and azure*), the other of the earldom of Arundel (*Gules, a lion rampant or*) or perhaps Mowbray (*Gules, a lion rampant argent*). From behind each shield rises an ostrich feather with a chain laid along the quill. John Howard, who succeeded to the dukedom in 1483, quartered Norfolk with the arms of Howard. The later dukes have also retained the Norfolk arms as one of their quarterings, as well as those of Surrey.

In an inventory of the goods and chattels seized at Pleshy on the death of Thomas of Woodstock, son of Edward III., who was created earl of Buckingham in 1377, and duke of Gloucester in 1385, mention is made of a white halling with red and black borders powdered with swans (the De Bohun badge) and "the arms of Hereford."[a] If we may take as evidence one of the duke's seals, and the splendid brass to his wife, Eleanor de Bohun, at Westminster, the arms of Hereford were those assigned to Milo of Gloucester, created earl of Hereford in 1141, *gules, two bends, one or the other argent.* The Rev. C. Boutell has suggested that the gold bend with silver cotises which have formed part of the arms of De Bohun from certainly the time of Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Hereford and Essex 1220-1275, are derived from Milo's bendlets,[b] which is very likely. In that case the arms of the earldom of Hereford may be said to have survived down

[a] *Archaeological Journal*, liv. 289.

[b] *Heraldry Historical and Popular*, 3rd edition (London, 1864), 155.

to 1473-4, when their use as a quartering by the earls was abandoned by Henry Stafford, duke of Buckingham, who then held the title, for a reason to which I shall presently refer.

The early seals of the De Bohuns introduce us to another shield of an earldom, that of Essex, *quarterly or and gules*. This is found on either side of the De Bohun arms on the seal of Humphrey de Bohun, who became earl of Essex *jure matris* in 1228; also on the seal of his great grandson, another Humphrey, who was earl of Hereford and Essex 1298-1321-2.

Another suggestion of Mr. Boutell[a] that the golden lioncels on an azure field borne by the De Bohuns owe their origin to the marriage of an early member of the family to the sister of another feudal lord, Walter of Salisbury, reminds us of the arms of the earldom of that place. These were first borne by William Longespée, who became earl of Salisbury in right of his wife, the countess Ela, in 1198, and are beautifully sculptured on his effigy. After his death in 1226 the earldom seems to have reverted to his widow, who survived both her son and grandson until 1261, when her great granddaughter Margaret, wife of Henry de Laci, earl of Lincoln, became *de jure* countess of Salisbury. On her death in 1310 her only surviving daughter and heiress Alice, wife of Thomas earl of Lancaster, seems to have become countess of Salisbury, and by the death of her father the same year countess of Lincoln also. The earl of Lancaster was beheaded in 1322, when all his honours were forfeited and his wife was compelled to convey all her inheritance to the king. The earldom of Salisbury thus lapsed to the crown. In 1337 it was conferred on William, lord Montacute, in whose family it descended on the death of her father Thomas, earl of Salisbury and count of Perche, in 1428, to Alice, baroness Montacute and *suo jure* countess of Salisbury. She had married in 1424 Richard Nevill, son of Ralph, earl of Westmorland, who thus became earl of Salisbury. On his beautiful seal he quarters his wife's arms "for Salisbury" with his own, and flanks the shield with two lesser shields, one of which bears the ancient arms of Salisbury, the lioncels of William Longespée.

I should like to cite just one more instance, because it appears to combine the arms of the earldoms of Buckingham, Hereford, Northampton, and Stafford. This is exemplified by the seal of Humphrey Stafford, who succeeded his father as earl of Stafford in 1403. In 1442, *jure matris*, Anne, daughter and heiress of Thomas of Woodstock, he became earl of Buckingham, Hereford, and Northampton. Thomas of Woodstock, as we have already seen, was created earl of Buckingham

[a] *Op. cit.* 154.

in 1377, but his other dignities of Hereford and Northampton passed to him in right of his wife, Eleanor, daughter and coheir of Humphrey de Bohun, who became earl of Northampton in 1360, and by the death of his uncle in 1361 earl of Hereford also. Thus the quarterings on Humphrey Stafford's seal: 1. Thomas of Woodstock; 2. Bohun of Hereford; 3. Bohun of Northampton; and 4. Stafford, are satisfactorily accounted for.

The grandson of Humphrey, Henry Stafford, second duke of Buckingham, in a chapter of the Office of Arms held on 18th February, 1473-4, was allowed to bear the arms of Thomas of Woodstock alone as being a nobleman "who is descended lenyalle Ineritable to iij or iiij Cotes & afterward is ascended to a Cotte neire to the King and of his blood royal."[a]

It will be seen by these examples, which might easily be multiplied, that there can be little or no doubt as to the hereditary character of the arms of many of the earldoms; the grant therefore to Louis de Bruges of a differenced shield of the arms of a former earl of Winchester is an interesting survival.

It only remains for me in conclusion to say a few words as to the manner in which such grants as that under notice were issued. In the first place the king issued a writ under the sign manual reciting the text of the grant and directing the chancellor to issue the letters patent. This particular document in favour of Louis de Bruges is before you, and, as may be seen, it contains an illumination of the arms to be granted. The letters patent issued in accordance with it are also before you. Finally the letters patent were enrolled, in this case on the Patent Roll, where the arms are again illuminated. We have extant, therefore, in this case the complete series of documents. The same fortunately occurs with regard to the grants made by Henry VI. to his colleges at Eton and Cambridge, the originals of which, it will be remembered, were shown in the Heraldic Exhibition in 1894. The writs for the issue of both are attached to the enrolment on the Charter Roll, to enable the illuminator to fill up the spaces which still remain blank on the roll for the arms.

These three are, I believe, the only examples known where the writ, letters patent, and enrolment of a medieval grant of arms are still in existence. The document which I have been able to exhibit may therefore fairly claim to be one of exceptional interest.

[a] British Museum, *Cott. MS.* Titus C. i. 404.

IV.—*Metal Bowls of the Late-Celtic and Anglo-Saxon Periods.*

By J. Romilly Allen, Esq., *F.S.A.*

Read 20th January, 1898.

The object of the following paper is to call attention to the highly decorative character of certain metal bowls belonging to the Iron Age, which have been found in Great Britain and in Norway, chiefly with the view of showing that they supply a connecting link between the flamboyant ornament of the Pagan Celtic metal work and the spiral ornament of the Christian Celtic MSS. and sculptured stones.

From time to time discoveries have been made in different localities in this country of small circular enamelled discs, the use of which seems to have been a puzzle to antiquaries, who have generally looked upon them as personal ornaments of some kind. At any rate, they are described in *Archaeologia*, the *Archæological Journal*, and elsewhere as pendants; and the specimens I have seen in museums have been labelled in such a way as to indicate that the curators were unwilling to commit themselves to any definite theory with regard to the use of the discs in question.

It has been reserved for a foreign archaeologist, Dr. Ingvald Undset, in a paper entitled "Petites Études sur le Dernier Age de Fer en Norvège," in the *Mémoires de la Société Royale des Antiquaires du Nord*[a] for 1890,[b] to demonstrate conclusively that such enamelled discs are nothing more nor less than the mountings of metal bowls.

I propose now to examine as briefly as possible the circumstances under which bowls, or portions of bowls, of this description have been found, with the view of determining their age and place of manufacture. Before going further, how-

[a] Translated by E. Beauvois from a fuller memoir on the subject in the *Aarböger*, 2nd ser. iv. (1889), 291-316.

[b] pp. 33-44.

ever, it may be as well to explain that the leading peculiarities by which these bowls may be distinguished from any other kind of vessels are as follows:

(1) A concave fluted moulding just below the rim.

(2) Hooks for suspension by means of rings, with zoömorphic terminations projecting over the rim; the lower portions of the hooks, which are fixed to the convex sides of the bowl, being in the form of circular discs, or of an oval with the lower end pointed, or of the body of a bird.

(3) Champlevé enamel decorations, either on the lower part of the hooks or on separate pieces of metal of various shapes attached as mountings to the bowl.

(4) A ring on a disc fixed to the bottom of the bowl, which is corrugated to give it additional rigidity, with in some cases strengthening ribs round the sides of the bowl in addition.

Fig. 1. Bronze Bowl found at Wilton, Wilts. Now preserved at Wilton House. (½ linear.)

Wilton, Wiltshire.[a]—This example is taken first because it illustrates very clearly the hooks with zoömorphic terminations and the rings passed through them for suspension. It was dug up about the year 1860, in the course of drainage works, between the Abbey and Kingsbury Square, and is now preserved at Wilton House. It is here exhibited by the kindness of the Earl of Pembroke. The bowl is of a bright yellow alloy, and is $10\frac{3}{4}$ inches in diameter and $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches high (fig. 1). It appears to have had a circular mounting, 2 inches in diameter,

[a] The Wilton bowl has been figured and described in Messrs. Nightingale and Goddard's *Church Plate of Wilts*, 27.

soldered to the centre inside on a convexity 4 inches in diameter in the bottom of the bowl. There are four hooks and rings for suspension. The upper parts of the hooks, which project over the brim, terminate in beasts' heads, and the lower parts are circular with a pierced ornament in the shape of a cross. There was a Benedictine nunnery at Wilton[a] in pre-Conquest times, where St. Edith lived and died, and it has been suggested that the bowl was an Anglo-Saxon *gabata* for suspending a lamp in church.

Fig. 2. Bronze Bowl found at Lullingstone, Kent. (½ linear.)

Lullingstone, Kent.[b]—The next example, now in the possession of Sir William Hart Dyke, bart., Lullingstone Park, near Darenth, in Kent, is chosen because it exhibits the enamelled metal mountings in great perfection, though unfortunately the hooks with zoömorphic terminations have been broken off (fig. 2). This interesting relic was found in 1860 by labourers whilst digging for brick earth at a spot to the north of Lullingstone, near the railway. It is of reddish

[a] Founded first as an oratory by Wulstan, Earl of the Wilsaetas, in 800, and afterwards as a priory of Benedictine sisters by King Alfred in 830. Ethelburga, the widow of Earl Wulstan, was the first prioress. The so-called see of Wilton was really that of Ramsbury, and was founded in 909, Ethelstan being the first bishop. The lands of Wilton were given to the Herbert family by Henry VIII. at the dissolution of the monasteries.

[b] The Lullingstone bowl has been described and figured in *Archæologia Cantiana*, iii. 44, and pl. 1, and some of the ornaments are given in the late Professor J. O. Westwood's *Miniatures of Irish and Anglo-Saxon MSS.* pl. 53.

yellow bronze, 10 inches in diameter and $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches deep, with applied ornaments consisting of thin plates of bronze, tinned or silvered, in the forms of stags and birds. The attachments of the hooks (four in number) are circular, with wings on each side, like the arms of a cross with expanded ends, and narrow bands going under the bottom of the bowl, which is strengthened by a circular ring and a hollow 3 inches in diameter underneath the bottom of the bowl. In the middle of this hollow is a cross with expanded ends, of early Christian Saxon type like that found at Lakenheath, Suffolk, and now in the British Museum, which has a gold coin of Heraclius (A.D. 610-641) in the centre. In each of the four quadrants of the exterior of the bowl, between the ribs and discs, the same designs are repeated, consisting of a pair of birds, a bird holding a fish in its claws (as in the Book of Armagh and on the "Drosten" stone at St. Vigean's, Forfarshire), and a pair of stags. The cross-arms, if we may call them so, on each side of the circular disc attachments of the handles are ornamented with interlaced work, and the ring at the bottom of the bowl on the outside with a four-cord plait. This bowl, both as regards its form and decoration, exhibits a curious admixture of the Saxon and Celtic styles of art, although the design is on the whole more Saxon than Celtic. The ornament appears to be Christian, and probably belongs to the first half of the seventh century. Three of the circular discs are ornamented with spiral work, and the fourth with a pattern composed of three beasts arranged symmetrically swastika fashion.

Fig. 3. Detail of Ornament on the Lullingstone Bowl. ($\frac{1}{2}$ linear.)

Unfortunately in the majority of cases the bowls have gone to decay, or been destroyed, overlooked, or lost by careless explorers, and the enamelled mountings only have been preserved. The method of constructing the bowls of very thin sheet metal with stiffening plates and ribs attached to the exterior is, as we shall show presently, the principal reason why the less destructible parts have survived whilst the rest has disappeared. The following instances of the discovery of enamelled bowl mountings have been recorded in the proceedings of archaeological societies or have otherwise been made known.

Middleton Moor, Derbyshire.—In *Archaeologia*,[a] the Rev. Mr. Pegge describes the opening of a tumulus on a part of Middleton Moor, called Garret Piece, $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles south of Arbor Low, in which he found an uncremated body lying east and west on the surface of the ground. Near the point of the shoulder of the skeleton was

[a] ix. 189.

an enamelled disc $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches in diameter, with spiral ornament upon it. The "piece of bronze with a fillet round it," mentioned by Mr. Pegge, was in all probability a fragment of the bowl, and what he calls a "portion of a buckle," which has spiral ornament upon it, was no doubt another of the mountings. These antiquities passed from the White Watson Collection into the possession of the late Mr. Thomas Bateman,[a] of Lomberdale House. On the dispersion of the Bateman Collection they were transferred to the Sheffield Museum, where they are now preserved. Mr. E. Howarth, the curator of the public museum at Western Park, Sheffield, has written to me saying that it was not possible to send these objects for exhibition, but he has kindly sent me a photograph of the circular enamelled disc. The zoömorphic handle is attached to a ring, with a projecting rim, in which the disc is set, as in the case of the Chesterton discs. In the illustration in the Catalogue of the Bateman Collection, the disc is shown fitted into the ring with the wrong side outwards.[b]

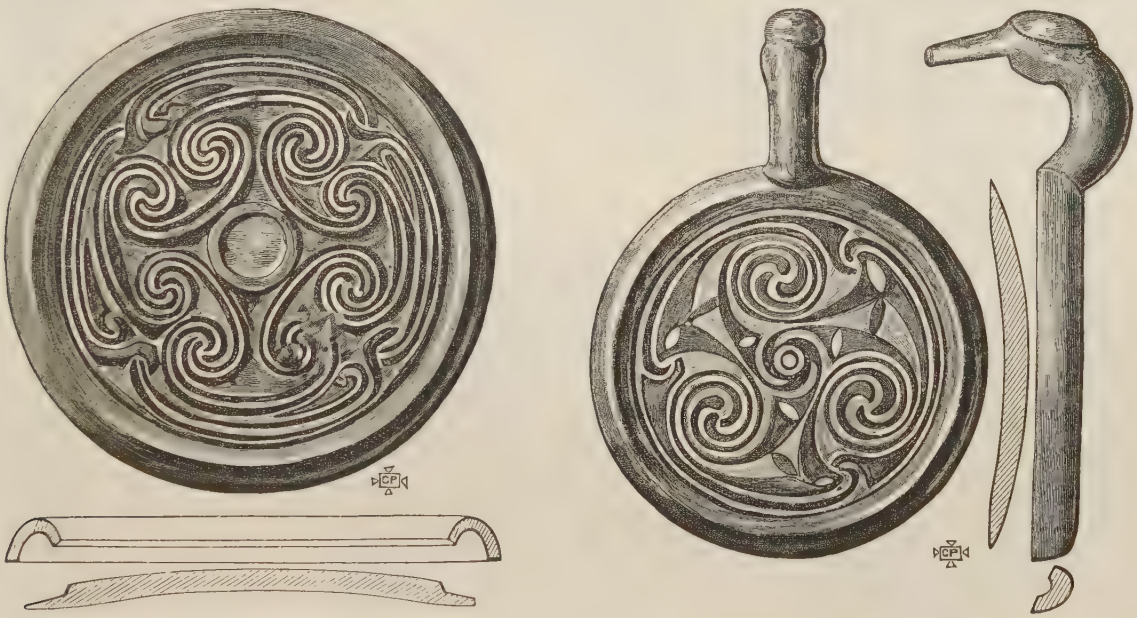


Fig. 4. Enamelled Discs found at Chesterton-on-Fossway, Warwickshire. $\frac{1}{1}$.

Chesterton, near the Fossway, Warwickshire.—In the museum of the Warwickshire Natural History and Antiquarian Society at Warwick are preserved some

[a] *Catalogue of the Museum of T. Bateman*, 154; Bateman's *Vestiges of the Antiquities of Derbyshire*, 25; *Journal of the British Archæological Association*, iii. 352.

[b] Since this was written Mr. Howarth has been good enough to bring the disc up to London for my inspection. It has been securely fixed the wrong way into the ring, probably by Mr. Bateman, who would thus appear to have been ignorant of the use of the disc.

relics found at Chesterton, near the Fossway, which were presented by Lord Willoughby de Broke. Amongst these are five circular enamelled discs of bronze, ornamented with spiral work. There are two separate designs, one in which the spirals are arranged in a group of three round a centre (repeated on three of the discs), and the other in which the spirals are arranged in a group of eight round a centre (repeated on the two remaining discs). The former three discs are each $\frac{1}{16}$ of an inch less than 2 inches in diameter, and the latter two discs $2\frac{5}{16}$ inches in diameter. Two of the three smaller discs have ring settings to which the zoömorphic handles are attached, the third setting being missing. The two larger discs have also ring settings, but without handles. Mr. John Sallaway, Honorary Secretary of the Warwickshire Natural History and Archæological Society, has kindly sent the discs and their settings for exhibition (fig. 4. One of the discs is illustrated in the *Archæological Journal*,[a] and the other in the *Journal of the British Archæological Association*.[b]

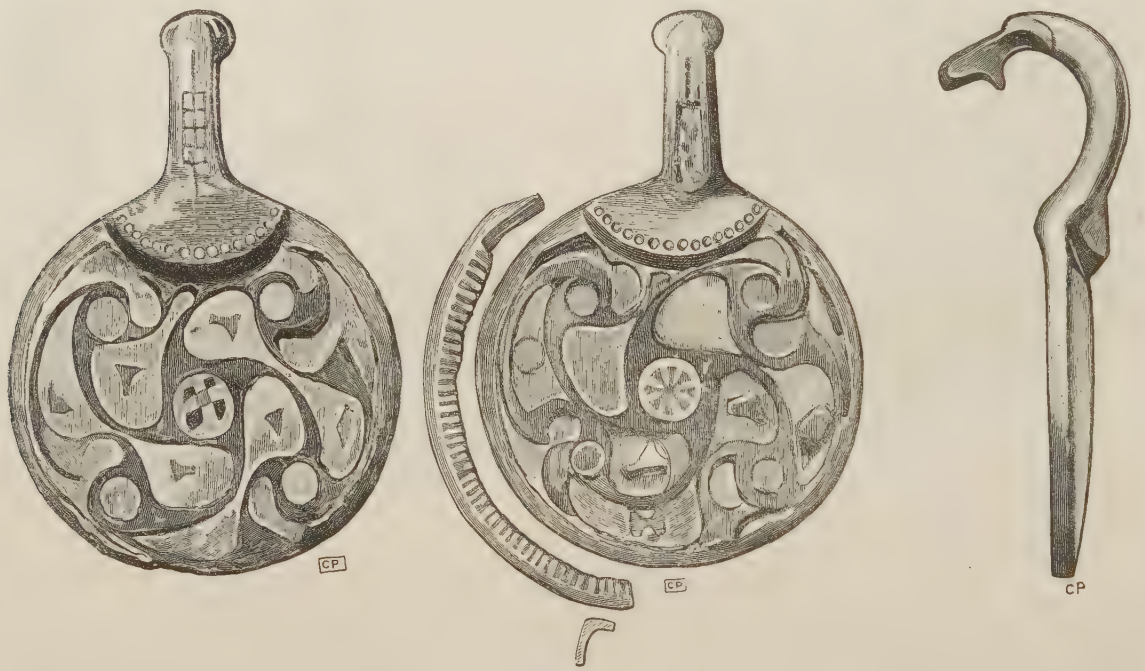


Fig. 5. Enamelled Discs found with remains of a Bronze Bowl at Barlaston, Staffordshire. $\frac{1}{1}$.

Barlaston, Staffordshire.—About 1851 a grave cut in the solid red sandstone

[a] ii. 162. [b] iii. 282.

rock was discovered on a sloping hillside on the estate of the late Mr. Francis Wedgwood at Barlaston, near Stoke-on-Trent. The grave was 7 feet long, by 2 feet wide, by 1 foot 4 inches to 2 feet 6 inches deep. The body and skeleton had

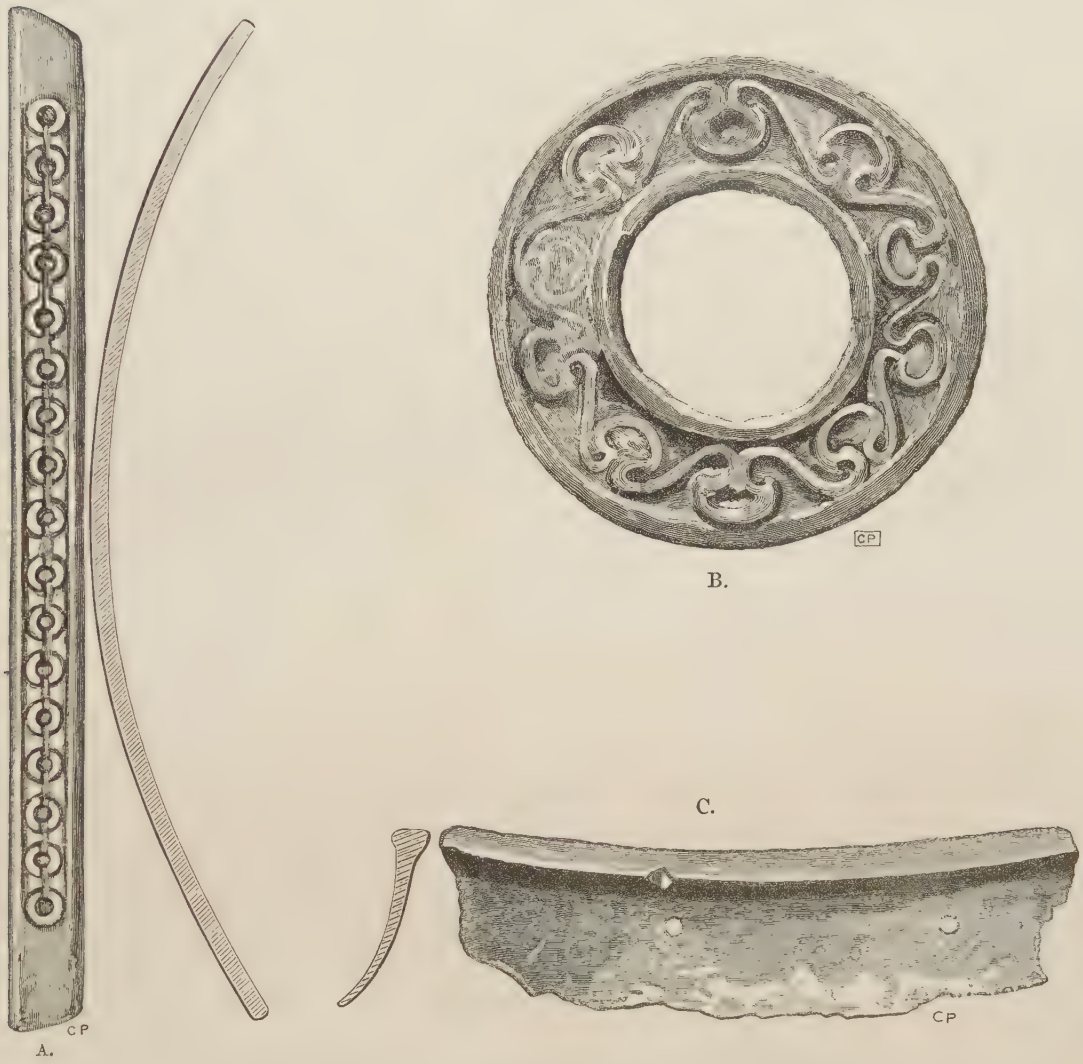


Fig. 6. Remains of a Bronze Bowl found at Barlaston, Staffordshire. $\frac{1}{1}$.

decayed, leaving no trace of its existence. There had been buried with the body an iron sword, 2 feet 9 inches long by 2 inches broad, probably two-edged, and knife, 5 inches long, one-edged and very thick at the back, together with the remains of a bronze bowl placed in a basin-shaped cavity, made specially to receive it, at the north end of the grave next to the head. The fragments

are described in Llewellyn Jewitt's *Grave-Mounds and their Contents*[a] as consisting of several pieces of curved bronze, highly ornamented, some thin plates of bronze, a flat ring of bronze, and three enamelled discs. Mr. Jewitt expresses his opinion that these fragments formed parts of a metal helmet, but he was obviously mistaken. By the courtesy of Miss Amy Wedgwood, the present owner of these remarkable relics, I am enabled to exhibit the three enamelled discs and the flat enamelled ring (figs. 5 and 6.) The latter, I would suggest, was fixed to the bottom of the bowl. The ornament upon it is of a pronounced "Late-Celtic" character. The shape of the iron knife, however, points to the burial being of the Saxon period. The presence of the iron sword indicates that the body was that of a man. Miss Wedgwood informs me that the grave was encountered whilst planting trees all over the gravel-pit hill behind the house, so that there are probably no other graves near, or they would have been dug into whilst planting. She states that there were 8 inches of soil above the solid rock, and that the grave lay north and south, the ground sloping towards the north, where the depth of the grave was 1 foot 2 inches less than at the south end. Miss Wedgwood has caused an iron fence to be erected round the site of the grave to mark its position. The bowl is of cast bronze (not wrought, like the others) and turned on a lathe. The bottom of the bowl was a slight concavity, but not nearly so pronounced as in the other examples, and shows both the marks of the turning tool and the centre for fixing it on the lathe. The bowl is 9 inches in diameter. At the rim the metal is $\frac{3}{16}$ of an inch thick, but at the lower part of the sides it is almost as thin as a sheet of note paper. The enamelled discs of the handles are $2\frac{1}{8}$ inches in diameter; the ring, which was fixed to the bottom of the bowl, is $2\frac{5}{8}$ inches in diameter outside and $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch inside. The strengthening ribs, of which two are whole and the other a mere fragment, are struck to the same radius as the bowl, *i.e.* 4 inches. They are about 5 inches long and have bevelled ends. The ornament upon them consists of a row of small circles with a dot in the centre and three lines running in the direction of the length of the rib.

Over-Haddon, Derbyshire.—A bronze bowl, seven inches in diameter, with two enamelled discs for the attachment of handles, found in a tumulus at Over Haddon, near Bakewell, is illustrated in Llewellyn Jewitt's *Grave-Mounds and their Contents*."[b]

Benty Grange, Derbyshire.—In the same work[c] is given a woodcut of three

[a] P. 258. [b] P. 284. [c] P. 251.

enamelled discs, $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch in diameter, found in a barrow at Benty Grange, near Buxton. In the same barrow was a leathern[a] cup with silver mountings.

Kingston Down, Kent.—In the Faussett Collection, in the Mayer Museum at Liverpool, are two bronze bowls of the class we are now dealing with. The first was found in Tumulus No. 76 on Kingston Down, near Canterbury. It is $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter by $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches deep, and has a hollow moulding round the rim. Below the moulding are three enamelled metal discs, ornamented with spiral work, for the attachment of the zoömorphic hooks with rings. The hooks are, however, broken off. There is a fourth enamelled metal disc soldered on to the bottom of the bowl. This bowl was evidently considered of value by its owner, as it has been carefully patched.

The second bowl came from Tumulus No. 205 on Kingston Down, the same one in which the great circular fibula, $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, ornamented with garnets and turquoise, was discovered. The bowl has no hollow moulding below the rim, but it has three handles, fixed by enamelled metal discs to the sides of the bowl, and a fourth disc soldered on to the bottom. There are rings for suspension, but the zoömorphic hooks are absent. The bowl was placed within a metal pan, 1 foot 1 inch in diameter and $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches deep, with two rectangular handles.

These bowls are illustrated and described in Douglas's *Nenia Britannica*[b] and in B. Faussett's *Inventorium Sepulchrale.*[c]

Oxford.—General Pitt-Rivers has in his possession a circular enamelled disc which he purchased at the sale of the Londesborough Collection at Christie's, May 8th, 1884. It is labelled "Bought by Mr. Roach Smith from a person who procured it in the neighbourhood of Oxford," and initialled A. W. F.[d]

The disc is ornamented with spiral work, executed in *champlevé* enamel. The thin metal lines between the enamel are gilded. The enamel is dark red, with nine circular blue spots. The design is identical with that on the Middleton Moor disc already described.

Crosthwaite, Cumberland.—In the Saxon Room at the British Museum is an enamelled disc with spiral work, which was obtained when the Crosthwaite Museum at Keswick was dispersed. The locality where it was found has not been recorded, nor are any particulars known about it.

[a] More probably wood much decayed.—C. H. Read.

[b] Pl. 11.

[c] Pl. 16, figs. 5 and 8, and pp. 55 and 76.

[d] The late Sir A. Wollaston Franks, K.C.B.

Faversham, Kent.—In the same room at the British Museum may be seen an enamelled metal object of pointed oval form with a portion of the hook remaining at its upper end. The decoration consists of spiral work. It was found at Faversham.

Fig. 7. Bronze disc in the Gibbs Collection in the British Museum. ½.

Gibbs Collection.—Amongst the objects in the Gibbs Collection, recently removed from the South Kensington Museum to the British Museum, are three bronze discs and zoömorphic handles (1248 to 1248*b*/70), similar to those already described, but not enamelled (fig. 7). The ornament on the discs consists of a cross with expanded ends to the arms on a pierced background, and a dolphin or fish monster on each side. The same design, which is evidently symbolical, occurs on the early erect cross-slabs at Skinnet, Caithness-shire; Morttach, Banffshire; and the Maiden Stone, Aberdeenshire. It may also be compared with the belt-clasps from Burgundian graves, which have crosses of the same shape upon them, with dolphins and figures of Daniel, Habbakuk, and Jonah.

Gate Ford, Needham Market, Suffolk.—No information beyond the statement that a bowl with enamelled discs with spiral ornament was found here.

In reply to a letter of inquiry about this bowl, Mr. S. Maw, of Hurst Lea, Needham Market, writes to say that he is quite unable to find any trace of it, although he recollects seeing it in his young days. His aged mother tells him that she thinks it was found in the parish of Badley, about half a mile from her house, when the railway was being made.

Greenwich, Kent.—Mr. J. Brent, F.S.A., had in his collection an enamelled metal disc with spiral work upon it, which was found in the Old Tilt Yard, Greenwich. It was exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries on 5th February, 1863, and is illustrated in *Proceedings*.[a]

Barrington, Cambridgeshire.—Sir John Evans informs me that he has an enamelled disc, with spiral ornaments upon it, which was found at Barrington, and is said to have been associated with an Anglo-Saxon ring-brooch.

[a] 2nd series, ii. 202.

Caistor, Lincolnshire.—The following letter addressed to the late Sir A. Wollaston Franks, K.C.B., has been sent to me by Mr. C. H. Read:

Caistor, Lincolnshire,
August 24th, 1865.

My dear Sir,

I send you a rude sketch of a bronze basin found in this parish two or three years ago. I believe a similar one was found a short time before in Wiltshire, and is now deposited in the British Museum. Will you be so good as to let me know what is the precise position of the beak head—whether upwards, as in my sketch, or downwards. The basin has evidently been used for suspension. A skull of singular formation, and the iron umbo of a shield, was found with the basin. I enclose a print of the leaden vessel which I sent you.

I remain,
Yours very truly,
H. Maclean.

The sketch accompanying this letter shows a bowl, 8 inches in diameter, of the same type as those already described with three zoömorphic handles. There is a ring inside the bowl ornamented in the same way as the three segments found with the Barlaston bowl. The discs of the handles are decorated with circles.

Let us now summarise the information we have collected about bronze bowls with enamelled metal disc mountings and zoömorphic hooks for suspension by means of circular rings.

Geographical Distribution of the Finds.

Cambridgeshire (1).
Barrington.

Cumberland (1).
Crosthwaite.

Derbyshire (3).
Middleton Moor.
Benty Grange.
Over-Haddon.

Staffordshire (1).
Barlaston.

Warwickshire (1).
Chesterton.

Lincolnshire (1).
Caistor.

Oxfordshire (1).
Oxford.

Suffolk (1).
Needham Market.

Kent (5).
Lullingstone.
Kingston Down (2).
Faversham.
Greenwich.

Wiltshire (1).
Wilton.

No finds of bowls of this class have been recorded in Ireland, Wales, or Scotland, but there are instances of sixteen in Norway, almost all on the west coast, and one in Sweden.[a]

General Nature of the Finds.

Crosthwaite	No record kept.
Middleton Moor . . .	In barrow.
Benty Grange . . .	In barrow.
Over Haddon	In barrow.
Barlaston	In grave cut in rock.
Chesterton	With Roman remains (?)
Caistor	No record kept.
Oxford	No record kept.
Needham Market . . .	No record kept.
Lullingstone	Not associated with other remains.
Kingston Down . . .	In barrow.
„ „ . . .	In barrow.
Faversham	In Anglo-Saxon cemetery.
Greenwich	In old tilt yard.
Wilton	Near site of Saxon Nunnery and residence of Saxon kings.

Age of the Finds.—The things which throw light on the age of the bowls, when they are found with sepulchral remains, are (1) the method of burial, and (2) the nature of the grave goods. The character of the decorations of the bowls themselves, which also is a criterion of antiquity, will be discussed subsequently. As far as the evidence goes, the greater number of the bowls have been found in barrows, and in one case only in a grave cut in the rock, although this might have had a tumulus above it originally. The bodies seem to have been uncremated in all cases. The grave goods belong to the Iron Age and are generally of Saxon type, with the exception of the bowls themselves. Nothing Roman has been found with any of the bowls. The nature of the grave goods indicates that some of the burials were those of females, as on Kingston Down, whilst in others they were those of men, as at Barlaston.

It was the custom to bury bronze bowls with the bodies of women in the Late-Celtic period, a notable example being the one found at Birdlip,[b] and now

[a] *Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires du Nord* (1890), 34.

[b] *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucester Archæological Society*, v. 137.

in the Gloucester Museum. In this instance the necklace, silver-gilt fibula, bronze armlet, key and knife-handles, and a highly ornamented bronze mirror, clearly showed they belonged to a woman. The bowl was devoid of decoration, and was placed over the face of the deceased.

The positions in which the enamelled metal discs have been found would appear to indicate that the practice of placing a bowl on or near the head survived in Saxon times.

Bronze bowls were common in the Late-Celtic period, but, with the exception of the example from Barlaston already described, they had no enamelled decoration.[a] The beautiful Late-Celtic bronze armlet from Lochar Moss, Dumfriesshire, now in the British Museum, was discovered inside a plain bronze bowl, $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches diameter and 3 inches deep, with a hollow moulding round the rim.[b]

In the museum of the Royal Irish Academy at Dublin, there is a bronze bowl which approaches more nearly in type to the examples of the Saxon period than any other. It is $5\frac{3}{4}$ inches in diameter and $2\frac{7}{8}$ inches deep, and has no enamelled discs, but it has a single zoömorphic handle. It was found in the river between Lough Marrow and Lough Oscar, near Keshkerrigan, co. Leitrim.[c]

On the whole I am inclined to ascribe the bronze bowls with enamelled ornament to the end of the Late-Celtic period and the beginning of the Saxon period.

The Scandinavian archaeologists attribute the bowls of this class found in Norway to the later Iron Age (*i.e.* after A.D. 800). Some of the specimens have been found associated with leaden weights, to which stycas of Eanred, king of Northumbria, are soldered.[d]

Use of the Bowls.—The object for which the bowls with enamelled ornament were used must remain a matter for speculation until some further decisive evidence is forthcoming. It seems highly improbable that they could have been for cooking purposes, as the heat of the fire would inevitably have melted the solder with which the plaques were fixed to the bowls and also have destroyed the enamels. The other alternatives are that they were intended for drinking purposes, for eating food out of, for keeping loose objects in, or for some such ceremonial purpose as for hanging a lamp or burning incense in. The hooks and rings suggest that the bowls were made for suspension. There is nothing, how-

[a] A pretty little bronze bowl $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter ornamented with projecting bosses was dug up at the Glastonbury Marsh village.

[b] D. Wilson's *Prehistoric Annals of Scotland*, i. 140.

[c] Sir W. Wilde's *Catalogue*, 534.

[d] *Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires du Nord* (1890), 37.

ever, as far as I am aware, to connect the bowls with the ceremonies of the Christian Church either as regards the localities where the bowls have been found or the remains associated with them.

Construction and Shape of the Bowls.—The bowls are made of extremely thin metal, which is probably the chief reason why so few of them have survived. They are strengthened partly by the corrugations in the bottom and the hollow moulding below the rim, and partly by the ribs, handles, and rings or discs fixed to the bottom. In some cases the rim is bent over so as to enclose an iron wire in this way, further adding to the rigidity of the bowl. The lightness combined with strength, which is the ideal of the modern engineer, is thus provided for.

Decoration of the Bowls.—The principal decorative features of the bowls are the zoömorphic hooks, the enamelled discs by which the hooks are attached, the enamelled mountings on the bottoms and sides of the bowls, and in some cases strengthening ribs.

The earliest instance of a zoömorphic handle is on the Late-Celtic bowl from Keshcarrigan, co. Leitrim, already mentioned. Here the beast has a somewhat nondescript appearance, his form having evidently been influenced by the flamboyant ornament of the period.

In most of the examples found in England the head of the beast or bird only is represented, and instead of having a body it is attached to the sides of the bowl by a circular disc. In the examples found in Scandinavia, however, we get the body sometimes of a beast and sometimes of a bird. The pointed oval on the Faversham enamelled ornament in the British Museum appears to be a survival of the form of the bird's body. The hooks of several of the English examples have been broken off, but on the Wilton bowl and the Chesterton discs they are wonderfully perfect.

The enamelled fittings of these bowls are undoubtedly the most beautiful features in their decoration. The enamels belong to the class known as *champlevé*, as distinguished from *cloisonné* enamels. The pagan Celts are well known to have excelled in this kind of work, and even after the introduction of Christianity the art still continued to be practised. Undoubtedly the earliest of the enamelled discs are those on the Barlaston bowl, because the decoration is in the flamboyant style of the Pagan Celtic Period, which must be carefully distinguished from the designs incorporating the closely-coiled Mycenæan or Bronze-Age spiral with a Late-Celtic background that are characteristic of the Christian Celtic art. The discs with spirals from Chesterton, Middleton Moor, Barlaston, Crosthwaite, and Oxford, are particularly fine specimens of Celtic enamelling of the early Christian

period. Some of the bowls imported from Great Britain into Norway are also exquisitely enamelled in yellow, red, and blue, chiefly with step and chequer patterns. The bronze vessel found in the Möklebust tumulus, Eid, N. Britain,[a] affords a splendid example of this kind of work. The viking who was buried in the mound was burnt with his ship, and the vessel was deposited in a hollow made in the soil under the centre of the mound. It was filled with burnt bones, covered by twelve iron umbos of shields. The enamels on the Möklebust vessel and on other bowls imported into Norway afford instances of little blue and white checkers, or of white crosses on a blue ground, produced by cutting up glass rods and fusing them together, *i.e.* *millefiori* glass, similar to that occurring on enamels of the Roman period.

The spiral patterns which occur on the enamelled discs of the bowls have a peculiar interest to the student of early Christian art in Great Britain, on account of their similarity to the designs in the Hiberno-Saxon illuminated MSS. and on the sculptured monuments of Ireland and Scotland. For, if it can be proved that any of the bowls exhibiting this style of decoration are older than the first illuminated MSS. of the Scotic school (*i.e.* previous to A.D. 700), then we have a connecting link between the flamboyant ornament of the Pagan Celtic Period and the more truly spiral ornament of the Christian Celtic Period.

We will first examine the spiral patterns of the discs, and then see how they compare with the designs in the MSS. and on the sculptured stones. For convenience of analysis the patterns on the discs may be divided into two parts: (1) closely coiled spirals placed at equal distances apart in symmetrical positions with regard to each other; and (2) a background of flamboyant work diversified with almond-shaped spots. In fact, we have here a combination of spirals of Bronze Age or Mycenæan type with the trumpet-shaped divergent spiral of the Late-Celtic style. The almond-shaped spots where the two trumpet ends meet correspond with the raised knobs of the same form at the terminations of the long sweeping curves seen in the Late-Celtic *repoussé* metal work. The so-called divergent spiral has no connection with the closely-coiled Bronze-Age spiral, and the origin of the former is evidently scroll foliage such as is seen on the borders of Etruscan mirrors, which again can be traced back to the Greek *anthemion*, and perhaps even to the Egyptian *lotus*. The foliage motive, which can be clearly discerned in much of the La Tène metalwork in Gaul and Switzerland, seems to have been crushed out of existence in Great Britain by the extensive use of the compass; successive copying did the rest; and in the end a kind of decoration was evolved

[a] O. Rygh's *Norske Oldsager*, No. 727; *Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires du Nord* (1890), 35.

that is neither naturalistic (in the sense of suggesting some motive derived from nature) nor yet purely geometrical, like the Mycenæan or Egyptian spiral work, underlying which there is always a regular system of setting-out lines. In Celtic art of the Christian period the centres of the spirals are arranged with geometrical precision and connected together by C- or S-shaped curves, so as to completely cover the surface to be decorated. It is only in the background between the spirals that the survivals of Late-Celtic features can be detected. These backgrounds are of two kinds, one of which is the comparatively simple one used on the enamelled discs and the sculptured stones of Ireland and Scotland; whilst the other is so complicated as to baffle description. Examples of the latter occur in the Lindisfarne Gospels on the Tara and Hunterston brooches and on the Irish shrine in the Copenhagen Museum.

One of the most effective ways of arranging the spirals within a circle is that adopted on the discs from Oxford, Middleton Moor, Chesterton, Greenwich, and Lullingstone. The spirals are all triple, as is generally the case in Celtic Christian art, single, double, or quadruple spirals being only used when they were unavoidable. There are four spirals, one in the centre and three others placed round it at the corners of an equilateral triangle. The central spiral is connected with the three outer ones by C-shaped curves expanded in the middle. In each of the three spandrils next the circumference of the disc are the peculiar hook forms which are so frequently seen in the art of this period. The hooks are in reality incipient spirals, and the object of introducing them was in order to avoid making S-shaped connections between the more closely coiled spirals.

The disc from Crosthwaite exhibits a more elaborate arrangement on the same principle as those just described, but with seven large triple spirals, six smaller triple spirals, and three hook-shaped connections.

On one of the discs from Chesterton there is a circle in the centre, and eight triple spirals placed symmetrically round it at the corners of an octagon.

The principal examples of Christian Celtic illuminated MSS. sculptured stones, and metal work with spiral ornament arranged so as to fill circular spaces, as on the enamelled discs on the bowls, are as follows:

Illuminated MSS.

Book of Kells.
Book of Durrow.
St. Gall Gospels.
Stockholm Gospels.

Sculptured Stones.

IRELAND.[a]

Clonmacnois.—Slab of Suibine, Mac Maelœhumai, A.D. 891.
„ Slab of . . . tui, A.D. 874 (?).
Monasterboice.
Tynan, co. Armagh.—Cross No. 2.
„ „ Cross No. 4.
Tullylease, co. Cork.—Slab of St. Berechtir, A.D. 839.

SCOTLAND.[b]

Nigg, Ross-shire.
Shandwick, Ross-shire.
Rosemarkie, Ross-shire.
Hilton of Cadboll, Ross-shire.
The Maiden Stone, Aberdeenshire.
Ardchattan, Argyllshire.

Metal Work.

The Monymusk Reliquary, Aberdeenshire.
The Norrie's Law Silver Ornaments, Forfarshire.

Problems connected with the Bowls.—There are several problems of very considerable archæological importance connected with these bowls which yet remain to be solved.

Where were the bowls made? The character of their spiral decoration corresponds with that found in MSS., either illuminated in Ireland itself or by Scotic scribes in Irish monasteries on the continent; and also with that on sculptured stones of Scotland and Ireland, but not of England or Wales. It would be natural to suppose that Ireland or Scotland was the seat of the manufacture of the bowls, but all the evidence regarding the localities where they have been found points in the opposite direction. Can it be possible, then, that the spiral forms which have hitherto been looked upon as specially Irish had their origin in England?

[a] Occurring chiefly on medallions in the centre of a cross.

[b] Occurring chiefly on the double disc or so-called "spectacle" symbol; but sometimes also in the centre of a cross.

The importation of the bowls into Norway throws an interesting light upon the commercial intercourse between Great Britain and Scandinavia during the Viking period. Small pairs of scales and leaden weights covered with plaques, decorated in the Irish fashion, have been found in several instances with the bowls in Norway, indicating, apparently, that they were brought over by regular dealers in bullion and metal work. The high appreciation in which Celtic enamels and jewellery were held by the Pagan Northmen is clearly shown by the large number of specimens found in Norway. Most of these are now in the Bergen Museum.

V.—*Notes on the cathedral church of Cefalù, Sicily.*

By George Hubbard, *Esq.*

Read 27th January, 1898.

Ever since 1838, when Mr. Gally Knight published his *Normans in Sicily*,[a] with a folio volume of drawings by Mr. George Moore,[b] who accompanied him on his Sicilian tour, the cathedral church of Cefalù has been known to antiquaries and architectural students as the most important example of the earliest Sicilian Norman pointed style. Many years later it was visited by Professor Freeman, who unhappily did not survive to carry his Sicilian history into the medieval period; had he done so there can be little doubt that the present paper would have been wholly superfluous. The late Mr. Fergusson, the architect, also seems to have been familiar with the main features of the architecture, but whether from Mr. Knight's work or from actual inspection I am not in a position to say.

In 1884 I stayed nine months in Sicily for the purpose of studying the antiquities of the island, and of these I spent more than one at Cefalù making drawings and taking measurements of the cathedral church. In 1896 I again visited the island for the purpose of correcting and completing the work I had commenced twelve years before.

In the absence of any higher historical and architectural authority, I venture with very considerable diffidence to lay these drawings and transcripts, together with such information as I have subsequently been able to gather with regard to the church, before this Society. For their shortcomings I can only apologise by

[a] *The Normans in Sicily: being a sequel to "An Architectural Tour in Normandy,"* by Henry Gally Knight, M.P. (London), 1838.

[b] *Saracenic and Norman Remains to illustrate "The Normans in Sicily,"* by Henry Gally Knight, Esq. (London) fol.

saying that I would have made them better if I could, but, even as they are, I hope they will be found to supplement to some extent the drawings published by Mr. Knight, to assign an exact date to those portions of the church of which the date has until now been only vaguely conjectured, and perhaps also to throw at least some small additional light on the much vexed question of the introduction of the pointed arch into our own country.

The conquest of Sicily from the Saracens by the Normans, begun in 1062 with the capture of Palermo, was not complete till 1090. The commencement, therefore, dates four years earlier, and its close four-and-twenty years later than the conquest of England by William the Bastard. In Sicily the conquerors were confronted by some of the noblest architectural monuments of many successive civilizations. Sikel and Phoenician, Greek and Carthaginian, Roman and Byzantine, Arab and Saracen had here left behind them a series of architectural examples for grandeur and variety unequalled within the same area in any other part of the world. The circumstances of the conquest, however, determined that the principal modification which the Norman style underwent in Sicily should be derived from the Saracen. The conquerors adopted the pointed arch of the misbeliever, and their adoption of it, I venture to believe, revolutionised the architecture of Christendom.

Their adoption of it in Sicily, indeed, was hardly a matter of deliberate choice. Dwelling in Saracen cities and towns and villages, surrounded on all hands with the pointed arch in nearly all the domestic and religious buildings they had wrested from Saracenic owners, the Normans in Sicily, long before they had begun to build houses and churches for themselves, had become thoroughly familiar with this form of construction, and when they did begin to build for themselves, they naturally and unconsciously, almost inevitably, adopted the pointed arch with which they were everywhere surrounded in their daily life.

The earliest known pointed work by a Norman architect is to be found in the church of San Giovanni dei Leprosi at Palermo. This was built by Count Roger, the youngest of the Titan brood of the needy Norman knight Tancred de Hauteville. Count Roger, who was throughout the leading spirit of the conquest, and finally the uncrowned king of Sicily, died in 1101. This church, therefore, must have been designed and was probably finished before 1100, a date at which it is safe to say no Christian church beyond the shores of Sicily had been built in the pointed style.

The next three examples of Sicilian pointed work are to be found in the churches of San Giovanni degli Eremite and Capella Palatina at Palermo, both purely Saracenic in style, and in the cathedral church of Cefalù. All three of

these were the work of Count Roger's son Roger, the first Norman crowned King of Sicily; the latest having been the church at Cefalù, begun in 1132, while Henry I. was still sitting on the throne of England. The pointed style adopted by King Roger was naturally employed also by his subjects, no less than by his successors, and thus gradually became the national and peculiar style of Sicily; no example of pointed Norman work being found on the mainland of Europe, even in Calabria, until a considerably later period.[a]

In England, the eastern part of the cathedral church of Canterbury, consisting of the "Trinity Chapel" and "Becket's Crown," is, I believe, the earliest pointed work to which any certain date can be attached. Thanks to the minute description of this work by Gervase of Canterbury,[b] we are able to follow its progress in all its details, from its inception by William of Sens in 1175, to its completion by another William, an Englishman, in 1180, four-score years at least later than the first Sicilian pointed work built under Norman direction.

Now it has not, I believe, before been pointed out that the date of this work at Canterbury exactly coincides with a remarkable historic connection between England and Sicily. Before 1170, or possibly in that year, Henry II. of England offered the hand of one of his daughters to William the Good of Sicily, and William seems at once to have thankfully accepted the proposal.[c] There is no record extant of the manner in which this proposal was conveyed to William, but we can hardly be wrong in assuming that the envoy was a dignified ecclesiastic, with sundry learned clerks, quite possibly an architect among them, in his train. It was not, however, till 1176 that the little Plantagenet princess, then apparently in her twelfth year, was actually dispatched to Sicily to be married to William. When she sailed, she was accompanied by an escort worthy of a daughter of England and a bride of Sicily. Among the ecclesiastics who accompanied her were John, Bishop of Norwich, and Parisius, Archdeacon of Rochester, while, on her arrival at Palermo, the envoys were joined by Giles, Bishop of Evreux, and other dignitaries from Henry's dominions over sea. The wedding and coronation took place amidst unexampled rejoicing on February 13th, 1177, in the Capella Palatina of King Roger's building at Palermo, Wido, Bishop of Cefalù being one of the witnesses of the marriage settlement.[d] At this date, although some few pillars of the work at Canterbury had already been raised in their places, not a single arch

[a] Knight's *Normans in Sicily.*

[b] *The Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury*, edited by W. Stubbs (Rolls Series 73), i. 3-29.

[c] Rymer, *Fœdera* (London, 1816), I. part i. 32.

[d] *Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Houedene*, edited by W. Stubbs (Rolls Series 51), ii. 95.

had yet been turned, the whole of the upper portion having been executed between Easter 1177 and Easter 1180.

I am anxious not to lay more stress on this coincidence than the circumstances warrant, but it is, I submit, sufficiently striking to be worth pointing out, and may perhaps be regarded as carrying one step further the arguments of those who believe that the pointed styles of England and France found their immediate model in the pointed arch of Sicily.

Apart from historic occasions such as this, and another, less auspicious, which occurred in the following reign, when Richard I. captured Messina "in less time than it takes a priest to chant matins" (1190), there were plenty of facilities for English and continental architects to become acquainted with the work of their brethren in Sicily. That the Norman-Sicilian pointed arch is the earliest there can be no doubt. The ties of kinship, language, and nationality among the Normans of England, France, and Sicily were as yet far from being finally broken. All were members of a Church the organisation of which may almost be said to have been constituted on the interchangeable principle, so frequently do we find clerks of all grades transferred to all parts of Christendom, and perhaps most frequently of all from one Norman territory to another. Of all the theories yet advanced as to the origin of the pointed style in England, that which derives it from the Sicilian, as the Sicilian was itself derived from the Saracenic, seems to offer fewer difficulties and to be more in accordance with the probabilities of the case than any other that has been propounded.

Be this as it may, the cathedral church of Cefalù is one well deserving of more careful study than it has yet received. Cefalù itself lies on the north coast of Sicily, just fifty miles from Palermo on the west, and considerably more than that distance from Messina on the east. It is a medieval town, technically I suppose a city, built on a ledge of rocks at the base of the cliff on which stood the ancient *Cephalœdium*, itself, according to the late Professor Freeman, the successor of a prehistoric Sikel settlement. The buildings that formed part of the ancient city, compacted of huge irregular blocks wedged immoveably together, are still visible on the heights above the town, here and there pierced by openings made in later days by masons who trimmed and squared the stones through which the openings were made, and here and there carved a classic moulding above them for a label. Here and there, too, are additions, wrought by Roman hands, with small stones and a lavish amount of mortar, in strange contrast to the Cyclopean work of their predecessors.

The cathedral church stands alone at one end of the town, on rising ground

immediately under the cliff. At the eastern end the earth has been allowed to accumulate against the walls to the height of 16 or 20 feet, and the fig trees and cactuses that flourish on the encroaching soil render it still more difficult to obtain an impression of its full proportions.

It was built, as I have said, by the first Norman king of Sicily, who was crowned at Palermo on Christmas Day in 1130. A sister of king Roger had married a Calabrian noble, who insulted and ill-treated her, and Roger in the following year led an armed force into his dominions on the mainland to punish his offending vassal and brother-in-law. He had, however, miscalculated the power of the Calabrian nobles, and suffered a disastrous defeat at Nocera. Returning to Sicily for reinforcements he was overtaken by a storm so threatening that he vowed if God should permit him to reach land alive he would build a church on the spot wherever he first set foot on shore. The ship at last found refuge in the wretched harbour of Cefalù, and in fulfilment of his vow the cathedral church was begun in 1132.

I give the legend as I find it, but another version dates the incident of the shipwreck in 1129, when Roger, not yet king, was returning from Naples. Probably enough the whole story is purely mythical. What seems to be certain is that Cefalù was made an episcopal see in 1130, that the cathedral church was begun in 1132, and that the charter of foundation, still preserved in the episcopal archives, and dated 1145, makes no reference to the story. Whatever his reasons may have been, king Roger laid out his new church on no mean scale. By internal measurements the total length from the west wall to the circular apse at the east end is 217 feet 2 inches, and the width across the nave and aisles is 89 feet 7 inches, while the width across the transepts is 124 feet 6 inches. The nave is just twice the width of an aisle.

The general plan is the Latin cross, but with three apses at the east end (fig. 1). The choir and transepts are vaulted and groined, whilst the nave has an open wooden roof.

The special and predominant feature in the church is the pointed arch. The nave arches are pointed and curiously stilted, the arches at the intersection of the nave and transepts, the arches at the apses, the arches of the triforium, and over the windows are pointed; in fact, the whole of the original structural arches are pointed throughout the church. The highly-enriched west entrance, in which the circular arch occurs, is a later alteration or addition.

The sixteen monolithic columns of the nave are of granite, with the exception of one, which is of cipollino, and, with their quasi-Corinthian capitals, are the

relics of some earlier building, possibly Roman. On the other hand the great capitals of the pillars at the intersection of the nave and transepts are distinctively

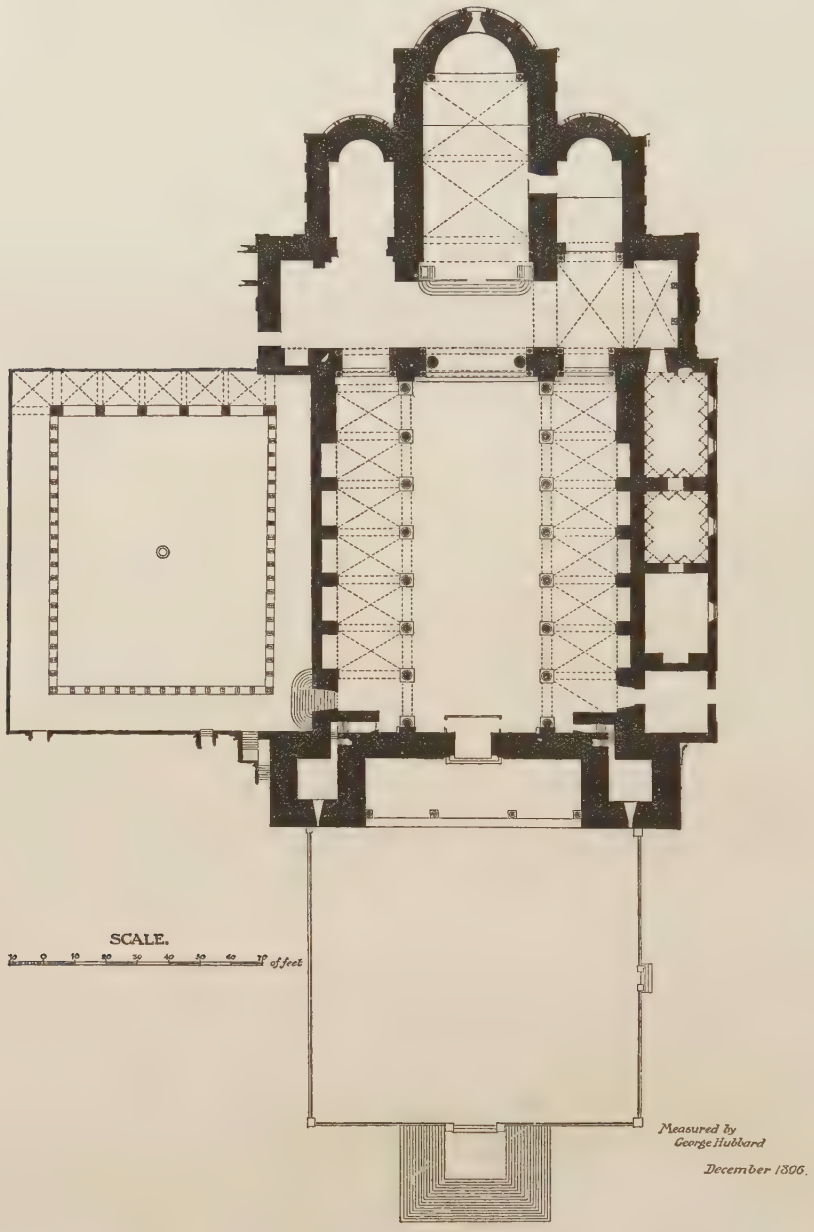


Fig. 1. Cathedral Church of Cefalù, Sicily. Ground plan.

Norman. They are no less than 6 feet in height, and the lower portion of the capitals is surrounded with a double belt of foliage, crudely-worked, supporting human figures about 3 feet high.

At the entrance into the choir are two white marble thrones decorated with mosaic. Over the one on the right is inscribed "Sedes episcopalis," and over the left "Sedes regia."

The two ambos, standing each on columns and enriched with mosaic, are also, fortunately, left intact in their original position.

The east window is a single tall lancet. In all cases the windows are small, a feature of Norman work which the latitude of Cefalù probably induced the architect somewhat to exaggerate.

The interior of the church is comparatively plain, with the exception of the central apse at the east end. This has been decorated with mosaic, which, for grandeur of conception and perfection of execution, has perhaps no equal. Monreale, La Capella Palatina, and St. Mark's at Venice, are generally considered to contain the finest examples of mosaics in Europe; but there is no figure in any of them to equal the great mosaic head of Our Lord at Cefalù. The whole of the upper portion of the apse is glorified by a half-figure of Christ, with two fingers half raised as in blessing. Nowhere have I seen such impressive gravity as in this great Christ looking down from the apse. Below this figure is a tier of winged angels with Christ again represented in their centre; below these are the twelve apostles, the whole being set upon a golden back ground. Around the apse arch, likewise worked in mosaic, is the following inscription:

FACTUS HOMO FACTOR HOMINIS FACTIQUE REDEMPTOR JUDICO
CORPOREUS CORPORA CORDA DEUS.

which may be translated: "Made man, the Maker of man and Redeemer of him I made, I, the corporeal God, judge both bodies and souls."

This inscription points, almost with certainty, to the former existence above and beside it of a mosaic representing the Last Judgment, probably destroyed when the roof was lowered to its present pitch. The position is that traditionally appropriated to such a representation, and the inscription can only refer to a figure of Christ seated as judge of souls and bodies. What the design must have been, if the work were ever executed, may be seen in Didron's *Manuel d'Iconographie Chrétienne*, p. 268. The inscription, it will be observed, is in Latin. The names of the saints, however, in the extant mosaics, are, according to Mr. Knight, given in Greek, and the figures are evidently designed by Greek artificers. This is clear, not only from the style and workmanship of the mosaic, but from the choice of subjects. The four archangels, for instance, so rarely represented in the art of western Europe, here hold a conspicuous position, as they are said to do in the very similar mosaics to be found in the monasteries of Mount Athos. Whether the

work was executed by Sicilian or Byzantine Greeks is a question still undecided, but the influence of Greek art and Greek tradition is unmistakable. The date assigned to the completion of the figure of our Lord is 1143. I do not know on what authority this date is given, but it is probably accurate, and that of the other

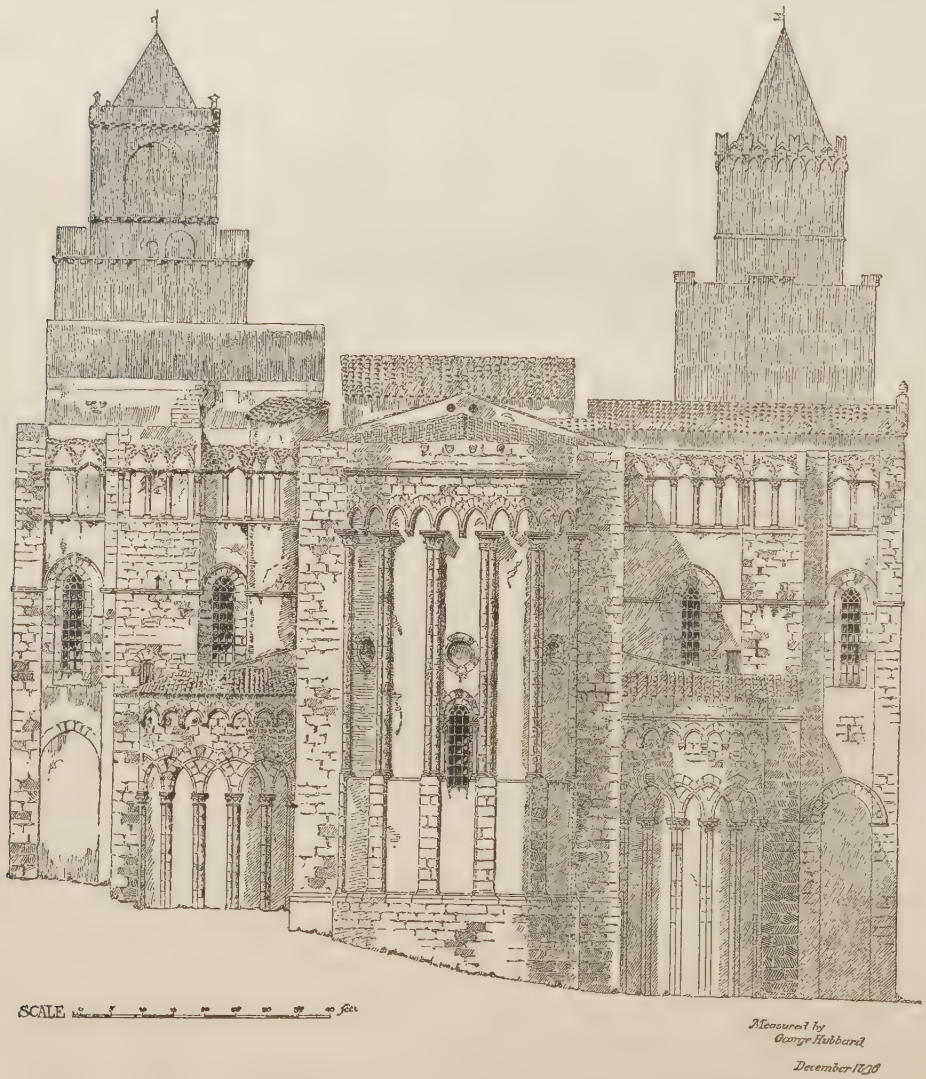


Fig. 2. Cathedral Church of Cefalù, Sicily. Elevation of east front.

figures can hardly be more than a year or two earlier or later. Our great stained east windows in north-western Europe are altogether unrivalled in Sicily, but no window I have ever seen approaches in impressive grandeur the great Cefalù Christ looking down the church from the eastern half dome of the presbytery.

Externally the east front is much enriched (fig. 2). The upper portion, with the

exception of the central apse, is surrounded by a row of circular interlacing arches with the Norman chevron mouldings. The two small lateral apses, which terminate at a much lower level, are encircled by interlacing arches supported on slender twin shafts, and above these interlacing arches is a series of small semi-circles, resting on grotesque heads.

The central apse is surrounded by a row of small pointed arches, supported by a curiously wrought arrangement of slender twin columns with alternate corbels between each pair.

The whole of the interior, with only a few quite insignificant exceptions besides the roof of the nave, remains as it was left by the original builders, as is also fortunately the case with the beautiful cloister on the north side of the church.

The arcades of this cloister are formed by plain pointed arches resting on coupled columns, covered with a variety of elaborate patterns. The capitals of the columns are all different. Some have figures, others are very close imitations of the Greek; all are of marble and beautifully executed. Rows of more fanciful columns and capitals it would be difficult to find. For instance, the columns in one couplet, as though forgetful of their proper purpose, spring off at sharp angles, and after curling round each other return again to their vertical line to support their capitals. The capitals themselves throughout are all alive with Romanesque and Byzantine imaginings, human beings struggling amid luxuriant vegetation; griffins with big wings patrolling round their capitals in sedate order; winged beasts and creeping things innumerable comporting themselves each after his kind, in a manner generally grotesque, always artistic. In striking contrast to the stern gravity of design in the body of the church, there is, in fact, a pleasing general levity in all the details of the cloisters.

Externally the west facade presents an extremely massive appearance, with two solid square towers 100 feet high terminating the north and south aisles (fig. 3).

No plinth, buttress, string-course, or any attempt at ornament detracts from their absolutely plain squareness, except a row of semi-circular arches as a cornice under the battlementing of the north tower, and a billet moulding under the curiously devised battlements on the south tower. One or two windows alone give relief to these massive structures, and these windows are curious. We have here two small semi-circular arches supported at their springing by a small shaft with a Norman capital, and these two semi-circular arches are surmounted by an equilateral pointed arch.

On the top of the towers are small turrets with battlements of a truly Saracenic design.

In bright contrast to these sombre towers, the west wall of the nave, between them, is very striking. The total height of this wall is 69 feet; the upper portion is decorated by an arcade of Norman arches with zigzag moulding supported on small columns, having Norman capitals of different designs. Below this arcade is a row of interlacing pointed arches, broken in the centre by the west window.

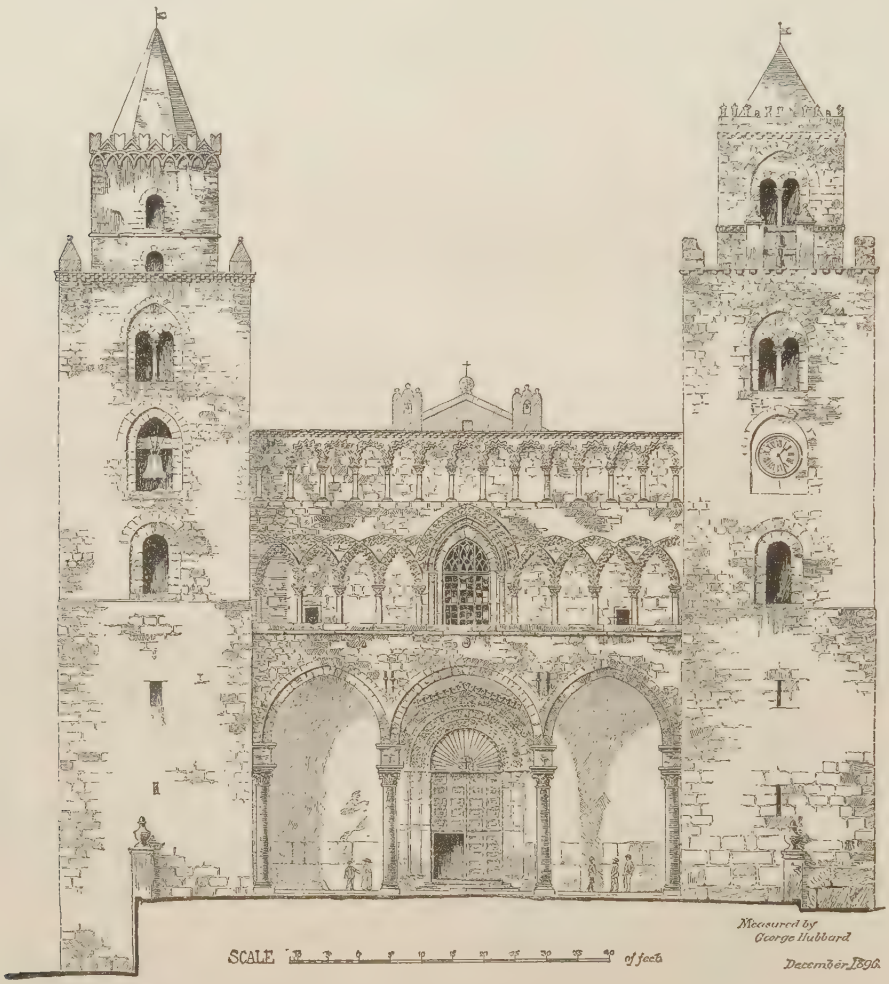


Fig. 3. Cathedral Church of Cefalù, Sicily. Elevation of west front.

This window, the only one of any size in the church, is 22 feet 6 inches high and 17 feet wide. It is pointed, and enriched with Norman mouldings.

A porch extends between the two towers. It is composed of three arches; the centre one being round and the two side ones pointed. The roof of the porch is pointed and groined. To quote Mr. Gally Knight again: "The west portal is remarkably curious. It is a semicircle, within a pediment, resting on plain pilasters. The moulding of the pediment is an imitation of the acanthus. The

portal has five enriched faciae, with a bead at the edge. On the outside moulding is an enriched scroll, terminating with animals; on the next is the egg and tongue pattern; on the third, figures and pateras; on the fourth, interlacing foliage; and on the facia, next the door, appears the Norman chevron. The portal and pediment are of white marble." [a]

This west wall and porch are, as will be seen, of a somewhat different character from the rest of the church, and are, in fact, the work of a later designer, whose name may or may not be found in an inscription to which public attention was first directed by Professor Salinas, the most eminent Sicilian antiquary, in a paper read before the Sicilian Society of Historic Archaeology in 1880. This inscription was traced by the professor in 1877, when it had only lately become legible, owing to the intonaco with which it had been covered having gradually crumbled away. It is cut on the lower order of the second arch in the arcade to the spectator's right of the west window above the porch. I copied it carefully myself, not having at that time seen Professor Salinas' paper; but, the reduction, one-tenth the size of the original tracing, which accompanies the professor's paper, is doubtless more accurate in details than my transcript. It reads:

ANNO DOMINICE INCARNACIONIS M°C°C°XL MENSE AVGVSTI XIII
INDICCIONE PER MANVS IOHANNIS PANICTERA.

Panictera or Panittera is a name still not uncommon in Sicily, but whether this John of that family was the designer of this portion of the cathedral church, or simply one of the sculptors employed on the more artistic portions of the marble work is a question now impossible to solve. The prominent position, however, accorded to the inscription, and the size of the letters, would seem to favour the former supposition. In either case the date of this part of the church is clearly established; in fact the western wall and the porch underneath it were built almost exactly a century later than the body, and what is stranger is that although both are pointed, the newer work relapses more frequently into the use of the usual circular Norman arch. Many of the capitals and other ornamental portions of the porch are of classic character and workmanship. These, in all probability, once were parts of a Roman building in the neighbourhood, which, either on account of their intrinsic beauty or on the more prosaic ground of saving expense, recommended themselves to the artistic taste of Giovanni Panictera, or to the empty pocket of bishop Arduino II., who appears to have been his patron.

In order not to break the chronological order of construction, I have omitted

[a] Knight, *op. cit.* 221.

until now any description of the wooden roof of the nave, which in its present form dates from a few years later than the west wall and porch. It is, as is so often the case in English churches, flatter than the original one, as is evidenced by the indications on the external wall where the line of the steeper-pitched roof abutted. Probably, also, as in the majority of English cases, such of the rafters of the original roof as could by cutting off the decayed ends be made available, as well as the original timbers, still sound, were employed in the construction of the new roof.

However this may be, by a strange coincidence of luck, the date of the present roof is as accurately determined as is that of the original cathedral church or that of the western wall and porch. On two of the great beams are inscriptions recording the name of the benefactor who repaired it and the year in which the work was executed. I made careful transcripts of these inscriptions, which, owing to the unusual form of certain letters and the extraordinary contractions of the words, have hitherto baffled all efforts to decipher them; but, by the kind help of Dr. Sebastian Evans, I am now able to lay before the Society not only my original transcripts, but the full text in Latin. The first inscription runs:

+REGNANTE ILLVSTRISSIMO DOMINO NOSTRO INCLITO REGE MANFREDO REGE SICILIE ANNO QVINTO MAGNIFICUS COMES HENRICVS DE VIGINTIMILLIA REPARARI FECIT TECTVM HVIVS ECCLESIE PER HOC OPVS.

The second reads:

ANNO DOMINI M · CC · L · X · III · MENSIS IVNII VI IDVS REGNANTE ILLUSTRISSIMO DOMINO NOSTRO REGE MANFREDO ANNO QVINTO DOMINO (*sic*) HENRICVS DE VIGINTIMILLIA FECIT HOC OPVS.

King Manfred, who, it will be remembered, gives Dante in purgatory certain particulars of his parentage and death, was a natural son of the Emperor Frederic II. by a lady whose name and family are represented as unknown by all the chroniclers and historians with the one obscure exception of Fra Salimbene,[a] from whom we learn that she was of the house of the marquises of Lancea or Lanza in Piedmont. On her deathbed Frederic went through the ceremony of marriage with her, thus legitimatising her son Manfred as far as was then possible.[b]

[a] Fra Salimbene, *Cron.* 167.

[b] *The Flowers of History by Roger de Wendover*, edited by H. G. Hewlett (Rolls Series 84), iii. 112.

Frederic, it may be noted as a later instance of the connection between Sicily and England, married in 1235 Isabella, daughter of King John of England and niece of the wife of William the Good.

Frederic was king of Sicily, though not emperor, from 1197 till 1250, when he died and was succeeded by his son Conrad IV., who died suddenly, probably by poison, in 1254, leaving the crown of Sicily to his infant son Conradin. Conradin was dethroned by his uncle Manfred in 1258. Manfred thus became king of Sicily, holding the throne from that year to February 26th, 1266, when he was defeated and killed at Benevento by Charles of Anjou, brother of St. Louis of France. The date of the inscription, therefore, 1263, historically corresponds with the fifth year of our most illustrious lord, king Manfred.

The magnificent count Henry is not quite so easy to identify, but there can be little doubt that he was either the son or grandson of Otho, sovereign count of Vintimiglia, who died some time at the end of the twelfth or beginning of the thirteenth century, leaving behind him two sons, Humbert and Henry. Humbert succeeded his father in the Riviera. Henry settled in Sicily, and there founded the family of Counts of Vintimiglia, who were also Marquises of Geraci, in Calabria. All the many Counts of Vintimiglia in many lands were descended from the Counts of Ivrea and the Kings of Italy. According to a very prevalent and still existing tradition, the mother of St. Anthony was a lady of this family, so that the repairer of the roof of Cefalù, thus related to the very pink of temporal and spiritual nobility, had a better right than most Counts of the period to the title of *magnificus*.

In his paper already quoted, Professor Salinas refers to these inscriptions, of which he read the date correctly, though he was puzzled by the count's name, and adds that the cathedral church appears to have been urgently in need of repair long before that time. In 1232, in fact, bishop Arduino II. was accused of having wasted the goods of the church without having spent anything upon it. The bishop made answer that most of the 70,000 tari he was said to have made away with in the course of seven years had been spent in repairing the bishop's houses, and that he had already begun to repair the cathedral church itself. It seems probable that the west wall and other works completed in 1240 were those that the prodigal bishop had thus begun in 1232.

In order to carry out these works, a portion of the roof must have been temporarily removed, but the bishop's funds seem to have been exhausted by the repairs of the western front, and the roof had to wait till the magnificent count came forward with his magnificent subscription in 1263.

Of work belonging to a later date there is practically none in the church. The only other object of interest is a massive silver altar and altar-piece of renaissance design in the north apse. Its erection was doubtless due to the piety of a good ecclesiastic. Its preservation intact to this day is a striking testimony to the well known piety of the Sicilian brigand.

Two early monuments formerly in the church are still preserved elsewhere. In the cathedral church at Palermo stand four magnificent tombs for the Norman kings. These are exactly alike in design, except that two have been executed in white marble, inlaid with mosaic, and two have been composed entirely of porphyry. Each is a large sarcophagus, on a pedestal under a marble roof, supported by four pillars.

The subjection of the conquered race is typified in a manner not without its pathos by the four kneeling Saracens supporting the sarcophagus of King Roger, who had intended to be buried at Cefalù. He was, however, buried at Palermo.

The two porphyry tombs were placed by King Roger in the cathedral church of Cefalù, but were afterwards removed to Palermo by the Emperor Frederic II. to receive his father's body and his own.

Such is the brief, and I cannot but feel very inadequate, account of the cathedral church of Cefalù. The special points of interest to which I am axious to direct the attention of this Society are two. First, the certainty of the dates at which the several portions were constructed. The body of the church with the cloister was certainly begun in 1132, the west front between the towers was certainly far advanced if not finished in 1240, and the roof of the nave was certainly repaired in 1263. The second point is the fact that the original church was built throughout in the pointed style, a whole generation at least before the pointed style was adopted in this country. Whether the English and French semi-Norman pointed styles were derived from the Sicilian semi-Saracenic Norman is a question the solution of which I leave to others. Whatever may be thought of the theory, I venture to hope that the facts I have laid before the Society, some hitherto unnoticed and others unrecorded, may be found not unworthy of consideration by its members.

I cannot close without the expression of my indebtedness to Dr. Sebastian Evans. But for the help which his knowledge of the twelfth century has enabled him to give me, I could not have attempted, as I have done, to work out the relation of English history and architecture to the history and architecture of Cefalù.

VI.—*Aydon Castle, Northumberland.* *By* W. H. Knowles, *Esq., Local Secretary.*

Read February 3, 1898.

The attention of archæologists was first drawn to this important building on the appearance of the first volume of the late Mr. Hudson Turner's *Domestic Architecture in England*,[a] now nearly half a century ago, but since that time no fresh account or description of it has been printed. It is the intention of the present paper to examine it more carefully, and to describe and illustrate it in detail.

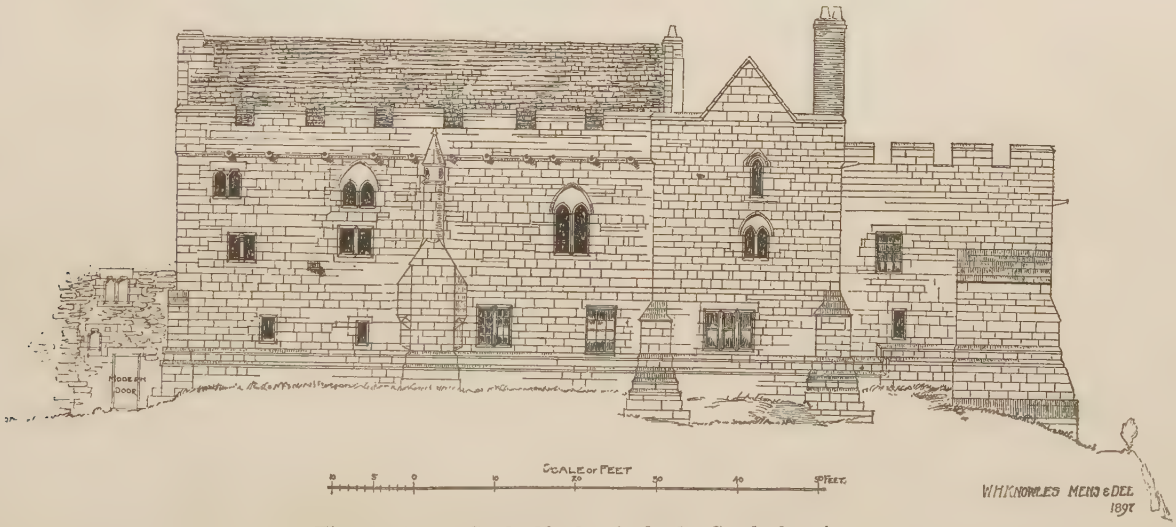


Fig. 1. Aydon Castle, Northumberland. South elevation.

The great interest of Aydon Castle centres round two characteristics, the fact that it is an almost perfectly preserved example of a fortified manor-house built in

[a] T. Hudson Turner, *Some Account of Domestic Architecture in England, from the Conquest to the End of the Thirteenth Century* (Oxford, 1851), 148, 149.

the thirteenth century, and the romantic beauty and seclusion of its situation. This beauty is principally due to the natural features of the site.

The Aydon Burn, which sweeps round the building, has its origin on the high lands of Stagshaw Bank, three miles north of the town of Corbridge, and in its course of about five miles from its source to the Tyne passes two castles, Halton and Aydon, and the site of the large and important Roman town of *Corstopitum*. During the first two miles the burn has a shallow bed, and runs through rich pastures, but as it approaches Aydon Castle it flows through the deep ravine which the action of its waters has channelled out in the soft sandstone rock. It is in the most secluded part of the deep glen thus formed, and where the stream, making a sudden bend at less than a right angle, and then almost directly bending again, surrounds three sides of a small promontory, that the building is situated. It

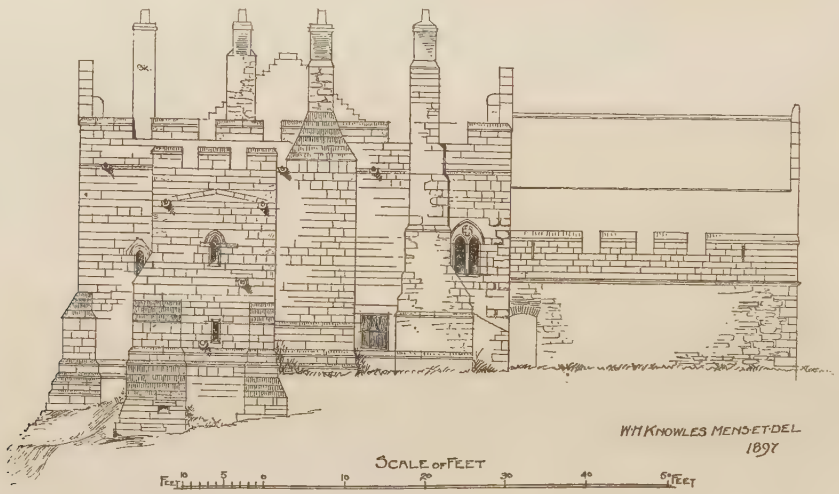
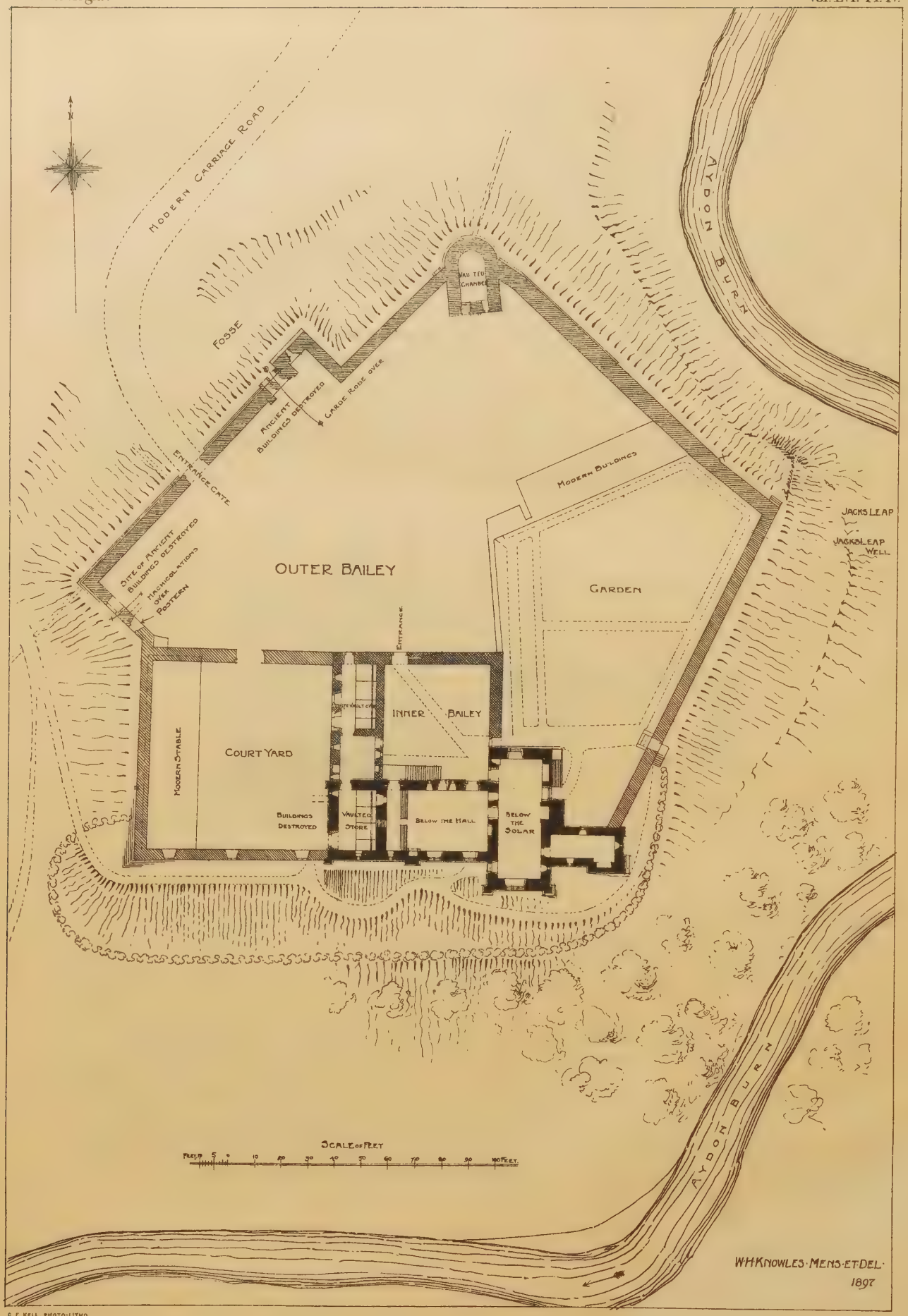


Fig. 2. Aydon Castle, Northumberland. East elevation.

is so well surrounded by the trees that clothe the banks of the stream above and below the castle, that it is hidden from view until it is closely approached, though visible from the Sele at Hexham, a distance of four miles and a half as the crow flies.

An ancient road which leaves the Roman wall at the camp of *Hunnum*, and, passing Halton and Aydon, joins the main road at the village of Aydon, still gives access to the place. The view from the castle itself is open towards the west, and of striking beauty. The foreground, composed of banks of rich foliage, leads up to a prospect over the wide valley of the Tyne, through which the river winds past the town of Hexham, conspicuous with its abbey church, its two



C. F. KELL, PHOTO-LITHO.

AYDON CASTLE, NORTHUMBERLAND. – GENERAL PLAN.

prominent and grim-looking medieval towers, and its long, many-arched bridge. Beyond are the rolling and heather-clad uplands of Hexhamshire and Allendale, and on the distant horizon the blue haze of the lofty heights of Tynedale Fell and Hartside, completing a picture which has few equals in the north of England.

Though but one among many castles and towers which cluster somewhat thickly round the old border town of Hexham, and never ranking as a castle in the full sense of the term, Aydon can vie with any of its neighbours, such as Halton, Dilston, Bywell, or Prudhoe, or the more distant strongholds of Cocklaw, Chipchase, or Haughton, as an important and well preserved example of medieval military architecture.

Though at first sight Aydon may be taken to be a building of one period, it is the result of several distinct efforts, which, however, are not separated from each

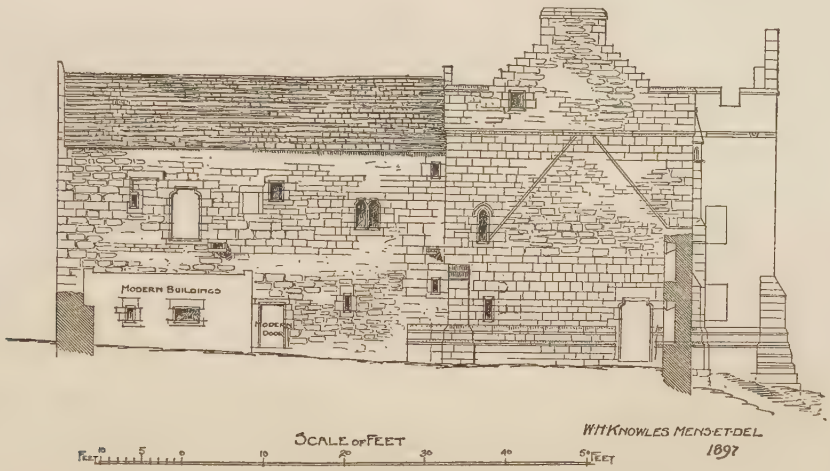


Fig. 3. Aydon Castle, Northumberland. West elevation.

other by more than a few years, and which all fall within a space of about half a century.

It will be desirable before showing how the present building developed from the original house, and before describing in detail the architectural features, to give such a general description of the whole castle as it now stands as will render a detailed description the more intelligible.

The main outline of the plan (Plate IV.) was necessarily governed by the formation of the ground it occupied. It forms an irregular pentagon, which has its apex to the north, and its base to the south; the surface of the ground rises somewhat to the north of the castle, though it is now practically level.

The main building, which contained the chief apartments, comprises the greater part of the south side. From this block two ranges of buildings projected, one northwards into the area of the pentagon, and the other in extension of the block in a westerly direction. The latter formed part of the west side, whilst the other three sides of the figure are formed by a disengaged curtain wall. This was strengthened by a semicircular mural tower which occupies the apex of the pentagon, and projecting beyond it commands the two northern stretches of the curtain. Between this and the north-western angle is the entrance gateway, protected by another tower.

There are sufficient indications to show that a fosse was formed along the north-western side of the curtain in front of the entrance gateway, the remaining sides being naturally defended by the precipitous banks of the ravine.

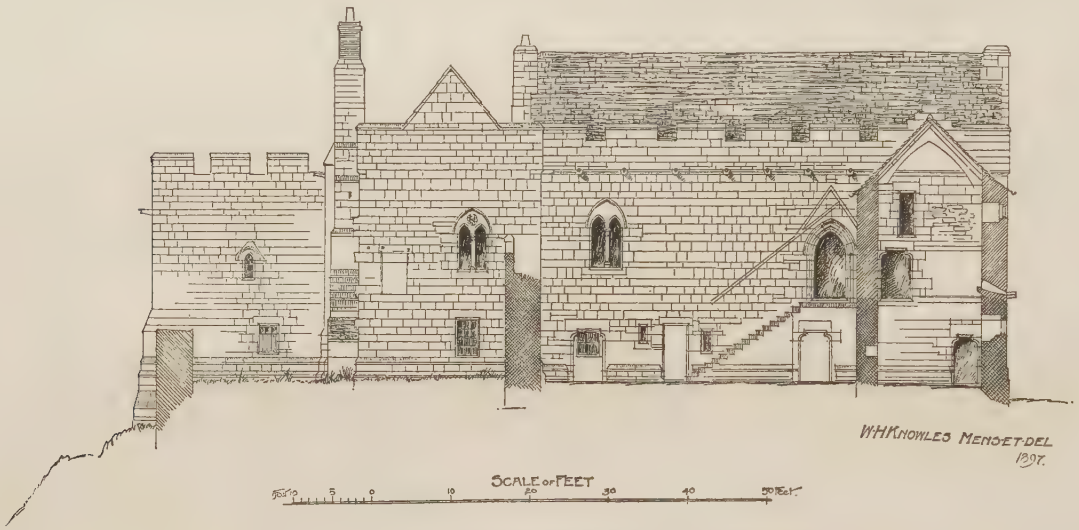


Fig. 4. Aydon Castle, Northumberland. North elevation.

The southern range of buildings was placed in the best protected part of the site and reaches almost to the verge of the bank. The form of the buildings which were first erected (see plan, fig. 7) consists of a T-shaped block, the top of the T being placed north and south, with a narrow wing projecting from it eastwards.

The area enclosed by the buildings and the curtain is an acre in extent, and is divided by walls into an outer bailey and an inner bailey, and an enclosed court formed by the two ranges of buildings which project from the main block on the south side.

The original house consisted of the greater portion of the main block of buildings on the south. It contained the hall, kitchen, store-places, solar, lord's chamber,

and a chapel possibly situated in the somewhat enigmatical building which projects to the east. The house was two storeys in height, and the hall and other chief rooms were on the upper floor (see plan, fig. 7), and were entered by a doorway to which access was gained by means of an external stair on the north side. There must have been an enclosure or court on the north side with a curtain wall, as the entrance to the hall would require some protection. There still exist toothings at the north-east angle of the transverse wing of the main block (fig. 4), to be more particularly described afterwards, which were probably connected with such a curtain wall.

The date of this work can be safely attributed to the end of the thirteenth century.

The license to crenellate was obtained in 1305. The main building may possibly then have received its parapets and battlements, instead of a roof with overhanging eaves, as was usual in all but the most important buildings of the time. To this date, which may be termed the second period (see plan, fig. 8), belong also the enclosure of the inner bailey, with its pointed doorway, and the lower floor of the wing projecting northwards from the main block and forming the western side of the inner bailey.

The next work (the third period) comprised the upper floor of the range along the western side of the inner bailey (see plan, fig. 7), including the removal of the kitchen and its offices, as well as changes in the arrangement and uses of some portions of the original house. This will be made clear by the description given below.

The work of the last period was the erection of a range of buildings, extending from the west end of the hall block to the south-west angle of the curtain, the curtain walls of the outer bailey, and the mural towers upon them. All these are inferior in workmanship to that of the previous structures, and can readily be distinguished from them.

After the time of the fourth work no further changes appear to have been made until the seventeenth century, when the house was occupied by the family of Carnaby, one of much notoriety in the history of Northumberland.

It now becomes necessary to describe in detail the various portions of the building in reference to the changes which have been made from time to time in the original structure.

The house which was first erected is built in ashlar courses, and is of superior workmanship. It extends along the greater portion of the south side of the site, and is cruciform in plan. The hall and kitchen occupied the body, and the solar or

withdrawing-room the transverse portion. Of the various chambers on the ground floor, that below the original kitchen is the only one vaulted.

Ascending a broad external stair (fig. 4), once covered by a penthouse roof, the hall was entered through a pointed doorway, 3 feet 4 inches in width, of two chamfered orders, with a moulded hood of simple section. The chamfered orders continue as jambs and cross the threshold, the interior jambs are splayed, and the rear arch is segmental. The door, which was secured by a sliding bar, the hole for which, 7 inches square by 7 feet long, is in the right jamb, did not open directly into the hall, but into a portion screened off at its western or lower end. On the west of this vestibule, or "screens" (fig. 7), as it was usually termed, was the access to the kitchen and buttery, and on the east the access to the hall. That this was the original arrangement the windows at the south end of the screens bear testimony. The hall, exclusive of this vestibule, measures 31 feet in length by 25 feet in width, and 16 feet in height up to the chamfered stone cornice (figs 10 and 11). It was lighted at the east end, where the dais and high table were placed, by two windows opposite each other in the north and south walls, each of two pointed lights, the head being worked in one large stone, with a solid tympanum, having a simple scroll hood-moulding on the exterior. On the interior the splayed window recesses are furnished with chamfered stone seats, under a pointed segmental rear arch. The lights are divided by mullions, with moulded caps and bases. The one on the north side, shewn in fig. 5, is all original work. The jambs, sills, and mullions are chamfered and rebated for shutters on the interior, and protected by iron grates on the exterior. The present roof, though an old one, is not contemporary with the masonry. There is no fireplace; presumably the hall therefore was warmed by a brazier or andiron, which stood on a stone or tiled hearth in the middle of the room,[a] the smoke escaping through a louvre in the roof. The screen walls, now of stone, were probably originally of wood, or wood and plaster. The vestibule or the screens was lighted at the south end by a double-light window, with chamfered and rebated head, sill, jambs, and mullion, and stone seats. This window now lights a small chamber opening off

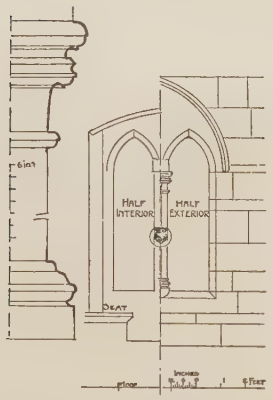


Fig. 5. Aydon Castle, Northumberland. Detail of the hall window.

[a] In the quite perfect hall of Penshurst in Kent, the brazier still exists. *See* frontispiece, Parker's *Domestic Architecture in England, from Edward I. to Richard II.* (Oxford, 1853).

the kitchen. Above the screens was the usual loft or minstrels' gallery, and at its south end (fig. 10) was a stunted two-light window, placed above that beneath. It is pointed and similar in detail to the two other windows in the hall.

The kitchen was situated on the west side of the screens. The width of the original chimney-breast can still be made out, though it has been curtailed for the later fireplace. In the same wall is a locker, and at the south end a large dished sink stone, with an open drain to the exterior. Two original windows remain in the kitchen. That in the south wall is square-headed and of two lights, divided by a filleted shaft with moulded cap and base, and a rear-arch similar to those in the hall. The window in the west wall is a single pointed light with a moulded hood on the exterior. The kitchen, now much altered, was in all probability the same height as the hall, the stone cornice of the latter (fig. 10) being continued to the west gable. In the north and south walls, above the west wall of the screens and below the cornice (fig. 10), are beam holes, to which the screen division between the hall and the kitchen was doubtless secured. The later alterations will be described below.

In the east wall of the hall at its south end is a pointed door, now built up but apparently identical in detail with the entrance doorway. It gave access to the solar, here, as is usually the case, situated behind the high or dais end of the hall. The solar measures 47 feet 6 inches by 18 feet, but is now divided by modern partitions. It has one single and four pointed double-light windows, all original, and a hooded fireplace, mutilated, but retaining its circular filleted shafts and moulded capitals (*see* details, fig. 6). The four double-light windows have seats, jambs, and rear-arches similar to those in the hall, with the exception of that on the north and that in the east wall, which on the exterior have sunk quatrefoils, that on the north wall being filled with a carved head (fig. 4). Both these windows have containing arches, which are flatter than those of the other double windows, and look as if they had been inserted or rebuilt. It is possible they may have occupied a position in the east wall previous to the erection of the northernmost chimney stack, or they may have been inserted after the curtain wall was erected. The small window is arched in one stone only, and the hood worked on two triangular shaped stones. Above the south end of this long chamber, forming the transverse portion, is now an attic space in the roof, lighted by a small pointed opening in the gable. There is no window in the corresponding position

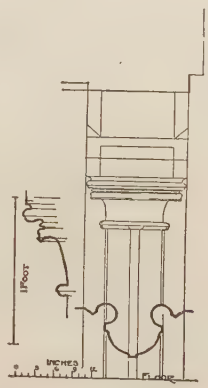


Fig. 6. Aydon Castle, Northumberland. Details of the solar fireplace.

in the north gable, and it is possible that this end of the solar was open to the roof. On the east side is a corbel or bracket, which may have supported a roof respond. There is also a built-up square-headed doorway at the north end. A partition wall crossed the solar at right angles to the southern jamb of the fireplace; this is indicated by the mouldings of the capital, which die into a square face worked on the same stone as the capital itself.

In many cases the similar space occupying the traverse limb afforded, in addition to the solar, a room for the lord, a boudoir for his wife, and occasionally,

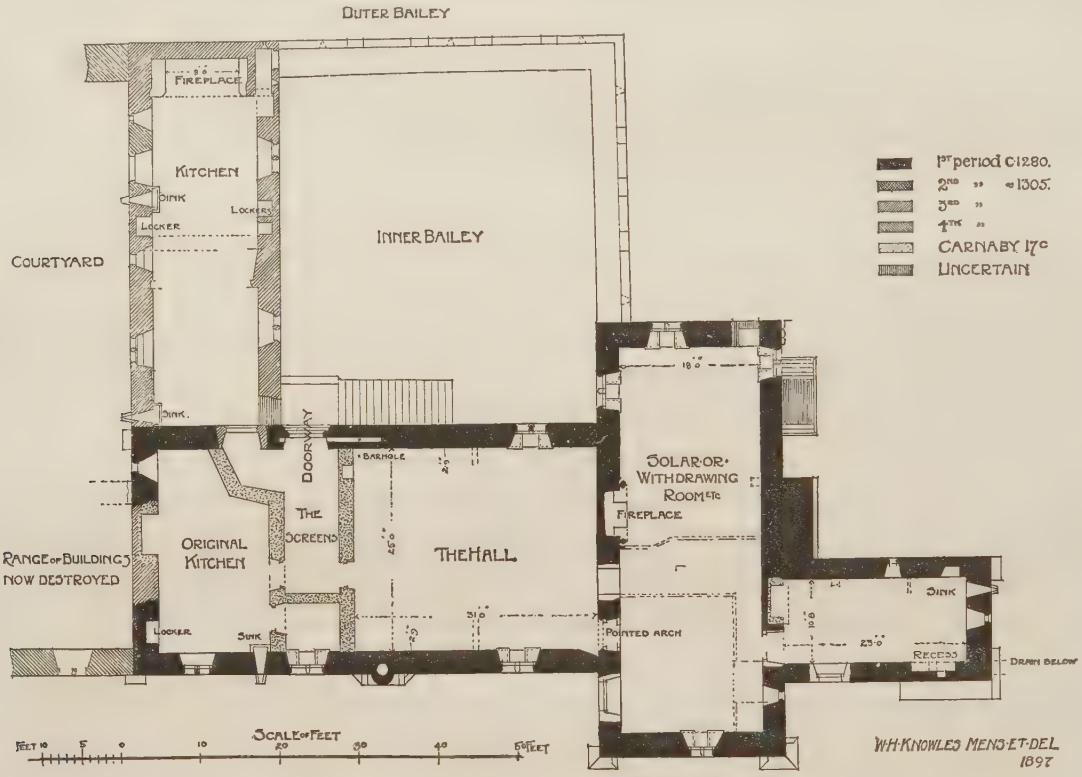


Fig. 7. Aydon Castle, Northumberland. Plan of upper floor.

as at Markenfield, near Ripon, a chapel. Taking this into consideration and admitting the possibility that the window with the ornate quatrefoil and carved head suggests an ecclesiastical intention, and may have been removed from the east wall, it may be conjectured that an oratory or chapel once formed part of this portion of the building. The solar is now adapted to modern requirements and much evidence has consequently been destroyed.

The eastern limb, measuring 23 feet by 10 feet 8 inches on the inside, is much lower on the exterior than the main body of the building. The exact use of the

accommodation it afforded is difficult to determine, It was lighted by two small pointed windows; one in the north, the other in the south wall, the heads of which are worked in single stones, with hoods similar to those described in the solar, excepting that the hood mouldings of the east window have carved boss terminations which do not occur elsewhere. In this chamber are found a small deep aumbry in the north wall, a sink in the east, and a recess in the south side. The latter has a corbel below its square head midway in its length, and a small recess below. The shape of the apartment, with its east window enriched with carved bosses, and the attribu-

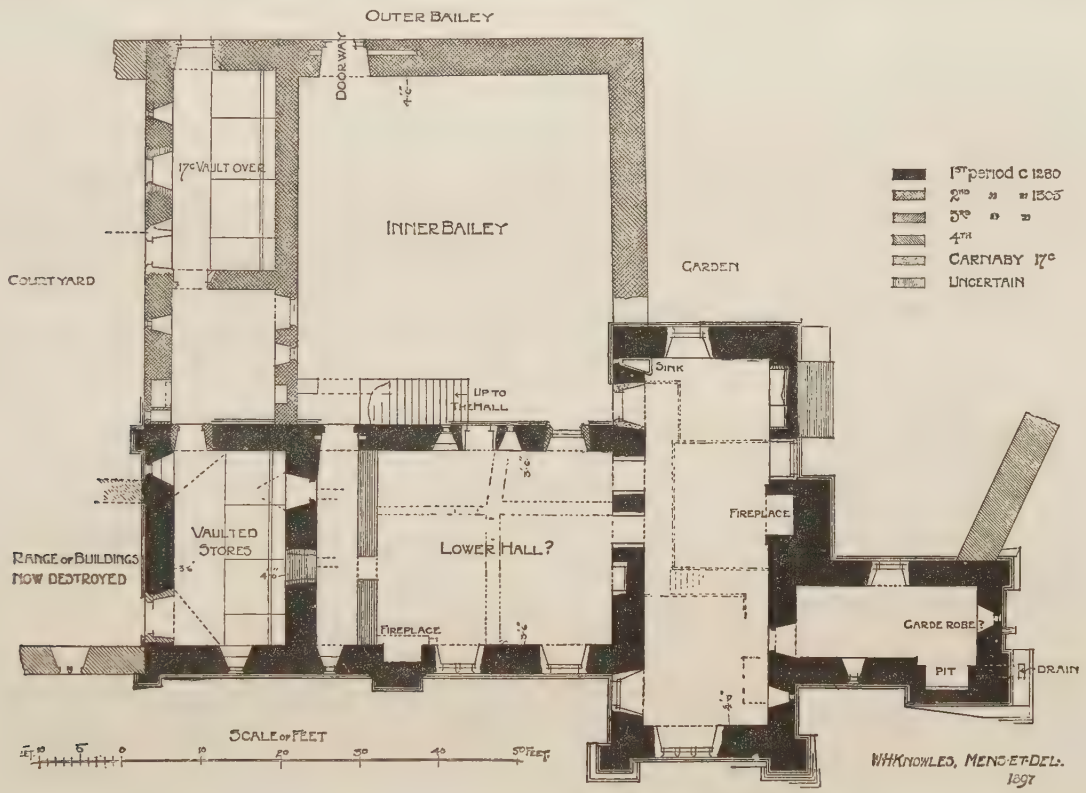


Fig. 8. Aydon Castle, Northumberland. Plan of basement or ground floor.

tion of the terms the aumbry and sedilia to the recesses, and piscina to the sink-stone in the east wall have gained for this room the appellation of chapel. Such a use, however, is quite inconsistent with the exceptionally large hollow buttress at the south-east angle (figs. 1 and 2), with its shoot or drain to the exterior, and an examination of the basement plan (fig. 8) at once explains that the recess on the lower floor is for a garderobe shaft, and the recess immediately above it has been constructed for the same purpose. There are no garderobes to be found elsewhere. The so-called piscina then becomes a sink, and the aumbry a wall-closet. The actual

chapel was most probably adjoining the solar, as at Markenfield and elsewhere. The building hereabouts has been so much altered that it is impossible to speak with any certainty on the matter. The fireplace is a seventeenth century insertion.

On the ground or basement floor (fig. 8) there is a series of apartments. That at the south end, now a cow-byre, which is below the original kitchen, was formerly a store-place; it has a plain vault, very nearly semi-circular (fig. 10), and is lighted by two small slits, with stepped sills, widely splayed internal jambs, and flat stone lintels. Another window once existed, where there is now a door, at the south-west corner, the vault being hipped for both this and the one at the north end of the same wall. The entrance to this vaulted chamber was from an internal door in the passage immediately below the screens, the access to the passage from the courtyard being through a square-headed and shouldered doorway below the main entrance, which was secured by a bar, the holes for which are in each jamb. The passage was lighted by a square loop at the south end. The thickness of the wall on the east side of the passage is suggestive of ancient work, but as it is plastered it is impossible to say positively to which period it belongs. The room below the hall, possibly used as a lower hall, was lighted by two loops towards the north, and had on the south side a fireplace with a sloping hood and chamfered shelf, supported on corbels rounded on the underside, another corbel placed by the side of the last served to carry a light. The chimney of this fireplace (fig. 1) is one of the finest external features of Aydon. It is an early example, good and simple in form, of a circular chimney shaft, having a conical top and carved finial, with pointed smoke outlets.[a]

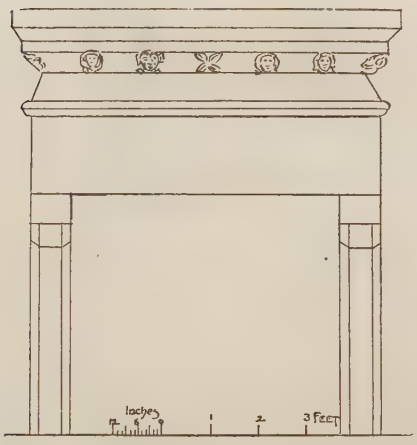


Fig. 9. Aydon Castle, Northumberland. Fireplace in apartment below the solar.

The transverse block to the east of the hall block has on the lower floor two small loops, one on the east and one on the west side, and had others probably where are now the modern windows. It contains a fireplace carried on rounded corbels, which has above the shelf a number of bosses, variously carved with heads and dogtooth ornaments (fig. 9). At the north-west corner is a wedge-shaped sink. A shoulder-headed doorway, chamfered and rebated, opens into the narrow east wing, in which are three loops. A small sink and the recessed garderobe pit are placed in the buttress.

[a] See some illustrations in Parker's *Domestic Architecture in England, from Edward I. to Richard II.* (Oxford, 1853), 91.

Such was the unfortified "Aydon Halle" that first occupied the site and was erected before the close of the thirteenth century. It was a simple, dignified, and altogether excellent though homely example of thirteenth century architecture, and it compares favourably with any work elsewhere of the same period.

The building just described must be attributed to the period already mentioned. It is evident, therefore, that the licence to crenellate "Aydon Halle," which was granted in 1305 to Robert de Raynes, was to embattle and fortify an existing structure. The additional works executed at the time of the order (indicated as the second period on the drawings) are shown on the ground plan (fig. 8) to comprise the wing divided into two parts and placed at right angles to the hall, and now used, like the vaulted store, as cow-byres. The elliptical vaulting in the northern portion probably belongs to the seventeenth century. The northern

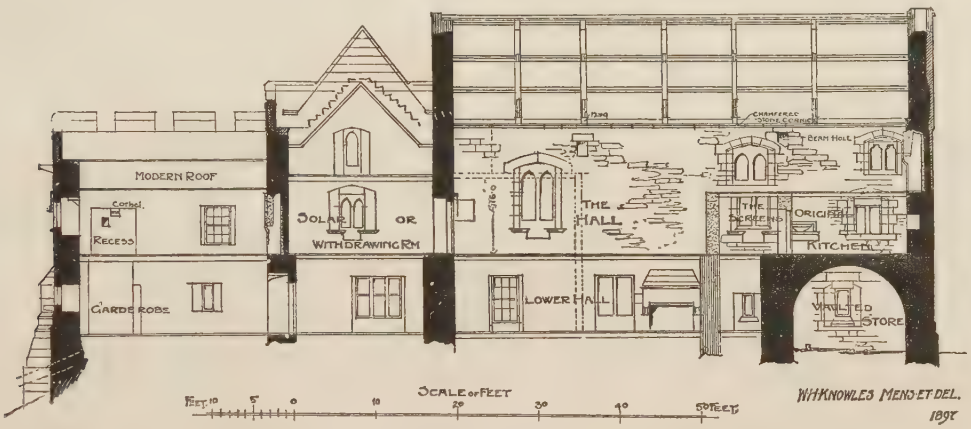


Fig. 10. Aydon Castle, Northumberland. Longitudinal section, looking south.

portion was lighted by two loops on the west side, and by a low broad window of uncertain date. One of the windows has been replaced by the modern doorway. A continuous stone manger runs along the east side of this and of the other vaulted room; both are no doubt of the seventeenth century.[a] The room between the vaulted chambers is lighted by two loops, one on the east and one on the west side, and an opening in the south-west corner, all rebated and chamfered. There is a small locker on the east side, and at the south end of the west wall a narrow recessed fire-opening, 5 feet 6 inches high, from which ascends a smoke flue in the thickness of the wall. The doorway between the two chambers is much mutilated,

[a] It has been repeatedly asserted that these mangers are of the thirteenth century. Stables were at that time customarily of a less substantial character, and certainly the original vaulted chamber, accessible from the inside only, was a store place.

but is identical with that giving access from the courtyard, and with one leading into the vaulted store; all have square-shouldered heads, chamfered and rebated.

The wall enclosing the inner bailey (fig. 8) appears to have been built at the same time. It is 4 feet 6 inches in thickness, and has an embattled chamfered parapet, the embrasures of which are holed for swinging shutters, and at five places the merlons are pierced with arrow-slits. The pointed doorway, with hood moulding, leading into the inner bailey, has chamfered and rebated jambs and sill. The rear-arch is segmental, and the door was secured by a sliding bar, the hole for which, 7 inches square and 7 feet long, is in the east jamb. That all this work was built at the same time is indicated by the character of the masonry (figs. 3 and 11), which is not so good as that of the first period. A reference to the plan (fig. 8) makes it still more conclusive. If the courtyard wall had preceded the building of the wing the thickness of the north and west walls would have been that of the bailey wall.

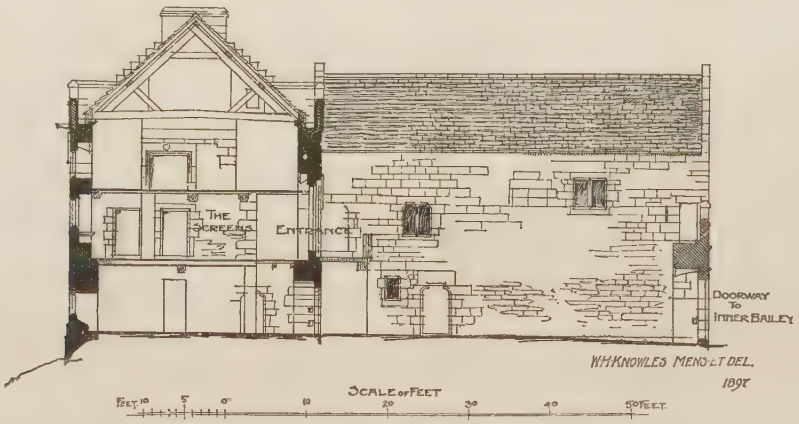


Fig. 11. Aydon Castle, Northumberland. Sectional elevation, looking west, through hall and inner bailey.

That this wing was not built before the walls of the courtyard is shown by the fact that its east wall towards the courtyard is thinner than any other wall, on account of its having received the protection of the curtain wall. The outer door into the lower hall is also of the same time.

Another feature of the second period (if it did not exist before 1305) is the addition of the embattled parapets to the main structure, which are carried along the eaves of each roof. They stand 5 feet 6 inches above the gutters, which are formed of overlapping stones, having numerous outlets (fig. 11), with simple projecting stone spouts, to carry off the water. Had the parapet been originally intended surely the gutter at the back of it would have been made of greater width than the present cramped space affords, and a suitable staircase giving access to it would

have been provided. There is at present no indication of a staircase, other than the outer one, communicating between the floors or giving access to the battlements.

Although no great amount of work was done during the second period, there being little more than what was included in the term "to crenellate," it was sufficient to give the house the appearance of what was rather a castellated mansion than a house of strength, as Grose remarks of Stokesay Castle in Shropshire.

The work of the third period indicated on the drawings, forming the second addition to the original structure, was completed before the curtain walls and buildings forming the outer bailey were begun. It comprised the removal of the kitchen to the west wing, which was raised a storey for the purpose (fig. 7). The huge fireplace, 9 feet 6 inches wide, and projecting 5 feet, was taken down and rebuilt at the north end of the wing; it had stone seats arranged within its jambs, which supported an arched head with scroll moulding over, the ample hood of which sloped back to the gable-wall in six courses. Unfortunately the chimney-stack no longer exists. It must have been a striking feature, and have added greatly to the appearance of this portion of the buildings. By the side of the fireplace, in the thickness of the wall, is a passage 2 feet 3 inches wide, which gives on to the alure of the inner bailey wall. This passage has two arrow-slits, one at the end and one in its east side. The new kitchen was lighted by two double-light windows, placed opposite each other; they have square chamfered and rebated heads, jambs, mullions, and sills, the internal jambs being widely splayed and the rear-arch segmental. Adjoining each window is a wall-locker rebated for doors and grooved for shelves. A large dished sink, 3 feet wide, with external outlet, is placed on the west side, and on each side of a small window are the toothings for a cross wall, opposite to a chamfered and rebated jamb, now only 6 feet high, on the east wall. The kitchen did not occupy the whole length of this wing. The two other double-light windows differ from the kitchen window in their having shoulders of slight projection, worked on the jambs and mullions. At the south-west corner is another sink and drain. The doorway in the angle is square-headed and shouldered and adjoins the main entrance; over it is another small square-headed door which gives access to a floor which is level with the hall gallery near to it. On the side walls near to the south end are some square holes and a small window; the former were probably intended to carry joists and the latter seem to indicate the position of a staircase. By the division of the original kitchen into two stages space was afforded for two or three additional rooms

(fig. 12). The upper portion was lighted by a small two-light window, with shoulders and rear arch, seen on the longitudinal section (fig. 10). It is not exactly over that below, and may have been inserted at the time of the alterations. It is the only shouldered window in the main block.

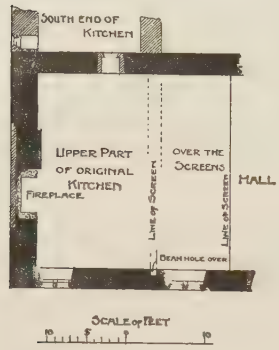


Fig. 12. Aydon Castle, Northumberland. Plan of room over the screens.

When the kitchen fireplace was removed the exterior ashlar facing of the gable was taken out and re-used in the added building. It was replaced with rubble work (fig. 3), which afterwards became enclosed within the roof of the new building. The door in the west wall of the kitchen which curtailed the two-light window was not inserted until afterwards; it is referred to below.

The work of the fourth period comprised the enclosed yard, and the outer bailey with its various groups of buildings. The curtain wall is built with roughly squared rubble. It varies in height from 10 to 25 feet (fig. 13), according to its position and the nature of the ground, and is 4 to 5 feet in thickness. The irregular space enclosed by the curtain wall is now occupied by farm buildings and a kitchen-garden. The direction of the walls was to some extent dictated by the site, but there is on the north side an irregular outline which seems to show a desire to conform to the concentric type of enceinte, with angle towers, which was so marked a feature in the defensive arrangements of the castles of the Edwardian period.

The course taken by the curtain wall (see Plate IV.) is primarily a continuation northwards of the west end of the south front, where a buttress with a wide-spreading base encloses the angle. From this it extends to a point which is on a line with the north front of the kitchen block. At this place a wall connects it with the block and forms a courtyard, so described on the general plan (Plate IV.). From the north-west corner of the courtyard the curtain continues for a little distance in a north-westerly direction and then turns at an angle of about forty-five degrees in a north-easterly direction, when it again changes its course at a right angle, at the point where the round tower covers the northernmost part. It then runs in a south-easterly direction, afterwards turning to the south-west until it joins the main building at the north-east angle.

The whole of the south side of the courtyard was occupied by a building 18 feet in width, the former existence of which is indicated by the toothings and the groove cut in the face of the hall gable (fig. 3) which shows the angle of the roof. In the south wall of this wing are four shoulder-headed double-light windows, three on the lower level and one above. At the same time the store doorway was

broken through, as well as that leading from the kitchen, which has encroached on the original two-light window.

In the middle of the north-west curtain was placed the entrance (fig. 13), in front of which was the dry moat or fosse before mentioned. It is a perfectly plain opening, having a segmental chamfered arch with a pointed segmental rear-arch. The jambs are without bolt-holes, and there are no indications of either a portcullis or a drawbridge. As the walls have all been breached and repaired, it is probable that this opening, which is very weak in a defensive sense, is a later work made out of the old material. On either side were groups of buildings (see plan, Plate IV.), those on the right on entering having been about 16 feet 6 inches in width. There is still left in the wall at the west end a shouldered postern door, apparently a sallyport, and at the north side of it a squat window, both of which would open upon the ditch. In the angle between this wall and the curtain of the courtyard is a solid piece of masonry designed either to strengthen the point or to form the

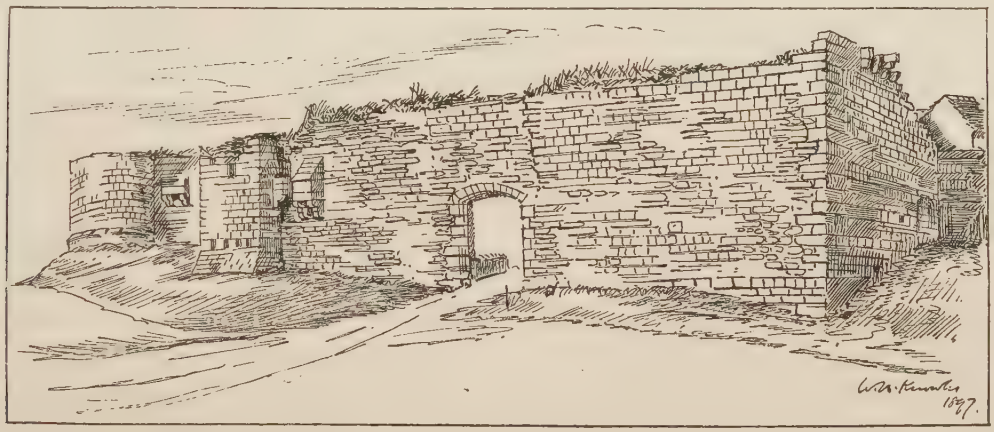


Fig. 13. Aydon Castle, Northumberland. The curtain wall from the north-west.

foundation of a staircase that led into the alure of the curtain, which at this point alone exhibits on the interior two or three courses of ashlar above an oversailing chamfered course. In the centre of the west end of the building, which extends along the north-west curtain, are the only machicolations now remaining, formed of four corbels, each of three projections, rounded on the underside. On the left of the gateway there were buildings similar to those on the west side; they extended as far as the square projecting tower, which served to flank the entrance. The tower, which was at least two stories high, has a slit for light towards the ditch, the foundations sloping outwards. On the exterior are two projecting garderobes; one was entered from a chamber west of the tower, and the other, which has a double shoot, was entered from the tower itself; it is placed in the angle formed by it.

The curtain was set back 19 feet on the east side of the square tower, and was continued to the round tower which caps the angle. The outer face has a chamfered base-course, and the masonry is of good squared stones in courses. The pointed vault of the basement of this tower still remains. It has no ribs, and is entered by a pointed door, arched in two sides only, and was lighted by a loop. The opening in the roof is of recent date. Over the door and window-head, in the wall towards the bailey, are three corbels rounded on the underside; they no doubt carried a gallery. Near to and on the west side of the tower is a projecting garderobe.

The curtain wall on the east side has a buttress, where it changes its direction, and at the point marked X on the general plan (Plate IV.) are some double chamfered stones which look like the jambs of a door opening. Throughout the length of this wall are some holes 9 inches square, passing through its thickness, placed about 10 feet apart; they were no doubt intended for beams to support a wooden brattice or fighting gallery.

There is not now any well within the walls, but Mr. Rowell, the tenant, remembers when water could be obtained in the outer bailey, north of the entrance to the inner bailey.

There only now remain to be described the alterations made by the Carnabys in the middle of the seventeenth century. The present screen walls of the hall (fig. 7) are the work of that time, and the fireplace in the apartment west of the screens, on which is rudely carved a shield with the Carnaby arms: *Two bars, in chief three roundles.* Of the same date is a similar fireplace on the floor above, and one in the west wall of the projecting east wing. The present ground floor entrance-door to the modern residence has the initials W.C.—H.C. and the date 1653, and the door into the cow-byre has the initials W.C. and the date 1657; to this period belong, no doubt, the elliptical vault to the same byre, together with considerable portions of the present roofs, stepped gables, and chimney-stacks.

Aydon thus gradually developed from a manor-house into a fortified abode, enlarged, crenellated, and eventually attaining the appellation of castle, a rank to which, in the strictest sense, it was never entitled. It possessed a site advantageously situated for defence, which was afterwards enclosed by a curtain wall and strengthened with towers, and possibly hoarding, an inner bailey with a strong doorway in a wall crowned by a parapet with embrasures and arrow-slits, the eaves of the main building being similarly finished. The openings for light on the ground floor were small, whilst the two-light windows on the upper floor were carefully protected by iron grates on the outside, and within by wooden shutters.

The structure throughout is simple and dignified in its details and proportions, and the house was well fitted for the abode of a family of large estates and important position.

The earliest owner of Aydon of whom we find any mention was Emma de Aydon, by birth an Umframville, the widow of Walter FitzGilbert, Baron of Bolam. Enjoying considerable wealth, in the year 1207-8 she paid to King John a fine of 200 marks and two palfreys for liberty to marry whom she wished, whilst Hugh de Penewurthe was excused a similar sum which he had promised for license to marry her.[a] Peter de Vaux, who became her second husband, notwithstanding Emma's fine, was required to deliver to the king five palfreys.[b] It can scarcely be doubted that this Peter de Vallibus or Vaux belonged to the Cumberland family of the name, of which Robert de Vallibus, the founder of Lanercost Priory in 1169 was also a member. By her marriage with Walter FitzGilbert, Emma de Aydon had two danghters, Alina and Adelysia, co-heiresses,[c] whom King John gave in marriage to two brothers, John and James de Caux or Calz. John de Caux and Alina had an only child, a daughter Margery, who married Richard de Gosbec, and James de Caux and Adelysia had also an only child Mary, who married Thomas de Bekering. In 1281 Richard de Gosbec died seized of the manors of Bolam, Aydon, and South Middleton. In 1284 Thomas de Normanville, Escheator beyond Trent, is ordered to seize all the lands and tenements of which Margery de Gosbek and William [?] de Bekering died seized; and in the same year Hugh de Gosbek, son and heir of Margery, paid homage to Edward I.

Hugh died without issue, and the moiety of John de Cauz appears to have become the property of Robert de Raymes and Maud his wife. For three centuries the name of Raymes continues to be associated with Aydon. In 1304 Robert de Raymes is mentioned in a calendar of inquests as the owner of one-half of Aydon and other lands. In 1305, in conjunction with Thomas de Bekering, he was granted a market and fair of the manor of Bolam, and free warren in Eydon, Lydendon, and South Mydelton, and in the same year he obtained the licence to crenellate Aydon.

Assuming that Robert de Raymes succeeded to the Gosbec moiety, there can be little doubt that to him is due the erection of the first portion of the structure,

[a] *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland*, i. 69 [Pipe, 9 John, Rot. 1].

[b] *Ibid.* i. 70 [Fine, 9 John, m. 1].

[c] "Emma de Aydon is of the gift and has been married to Peter de Vallibus by king John, her land is worth £15 per year, Alina and Adelysia, daughters of the said Emma, have been married to James Kauz and John Kauz by king John, their land is worth £40 a year." Hodgson, *History of Northumberland*, pt. 3, i. 229.

which may be attributed to *circa* 1280, rather than to Emma de Aydon's granddaughter, Margery de Cauz, and her husband Richard de Gosbec.

In 1325 Robert de Raymes had a moiety of the barony of Bolam, and the survey of the manor of Aydon. The other moiety remained with the Bekerings, of whom Thomas in the following year represented to the king that his lands in Northumberland were burned and destroyed, and his people dead and driven away, and prayed for a grant of other lands.[a]

In 1307 and 1377 the building or house is styled "Aydon Halle," and in a list of fortalices drawn up in 1415 it is stated to belong to Robert Ramsey and Ralph Gray. At a much later period it is in the possession of the Raymes, and later the Ramyes and Carnabys appear as joint owners. In 1638, Henry Raymes is mentioned as owner, and from him the castle passed into the possession of Carnaby of Halton.

Sir William Carnaby, of Halton Tower, was one of the burgesses representing Morpeth in Parliament in 1623, and again in 1640. His zeal as a royalist is evidenced by an enactment passed by the Commons on August 26th, 1642, "that Sir William Carnaby shall be disabled to sit any longer a Member of this House during this Parliament, for refusing to attend the service of the House upon summons, and for raising arms against the Parliament." This enactment caused him to seek safety abroad, and it will be seen that the shield carved on the fireplace and the initials above the doorways refer to dates when Aydon Castle was probably held by Carnaby's retainers.

Early in the next century the castle, along with the adjacent tower of Halton, were sold, when in 1706 they passed into the hands of John Douglas, of Newcastle, whose successor, Oley Douglas, was M.P. for Morpeth. His daughter and heiress married Sir Edward Blackett, baronet, from whom the castle of Aydon descended to the present baronet, Sir Edward W. Blackett, of Matfen.

Aydon must have shared the disasters that befel the border towns of Hexham and Corbridge, which were repeatedly burned and wasted. In 1296 they are described as destitute, and in 1297 were ravaged by Wallace. In 1312 both were burned, and during 1317 and 1318 were subject to dreadful raids. Aydon, however, is only once mentioned when in 1346 David of Scotland, on the invasion which ended in the disastrous fight of Neville's Cross, on the march to Corbridge, assailed Aydon Castle, which was given up on condition that the inmates were allowed to depart with their lives. By this capitulation the castle was probably saved from destruction, and has been preserved in the comparatively perfect condition in which it remains to this day.

[a] *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland*, iii. 164 [Tower, Miscellaneous, Roll No. 459].

VII.—*On an early Sixteenth Century MS. of English Music in the Library of Eton College.* *By* W. Barclay Squire, *Esq., B.A., F.S.A.*

Read 17th February, 1898.

The MS. exhibited this evening by the Provost and Fellows of Eton College belongs to a class of which very few now exist in this country. It consists of a collection of motets and magnificats for several voices, the music of each part being so written upon opposite pages that when the book is open the different parts can be sung by all the singers at the same time. This was the earliest method of writing part-music. It is found in the great collection of church music formerly preserved at Trent, a collection which contains numerous specimens of the English composers of the fifteenth century; it is also found in the Modena MS. (the chief source of our knowledge of John Dunstable) at Bologna, and, indeed, in all early MSS. of mensurable music. The system was even followed by the printers of the great editions of Orlando di Lasso and of Palestrina, the arrangement of the various parts being precisely the same as in those of the MS. now before us. Subsequently superseded by the use of part-books, from which each singer could sing his own part, it was not until the seventeenth century that full scores appeared; before then they are practically non-existent, even in MS. Though we know from the evidence of the Bologna, Trent, and Modena MSS., that the early school of composition of which Dunstable was the founder must have rapidly arrived at a high degree of elaboration, if not of perfection, the traces of it now to be found in this country are extremely slight. It is this fact which makes the Eton MS. so valuable, for the compositions it contains are without exception by Englishmen, several of whom, as I shall presently hope to show, were men of high reputation in their day. So rare have collections of this sort become, that I believe I am right in saying that there are now in England only two other MSS. of the kind which, for size and importance of their contents, can at all compare

with the Eton volume. These are respectively preserved in the Libraries of Lambeth Palace and of Caius College, Cambridge, both dating from a little later than the Eton book.

The MS. in its present state consists of 125 leaves of vellum, measuring $23\frac{1}{4}$ by 17 inches. It is bound in the original boards and stamped leather. The stamp consists of a "band, divided into eight rectangular compartments, four occupied by foliated ornament, the remainder by circular medallions containing the rose, the fleur-de-lys, the portcullis, and the initials H. R." This stamp is described in Mr. Weale's *Catalogue of Bookbindings and Rubbings of Bindings in the National Art Library* (No. 191); it occurs in the binding of the Black Book of the Receipt of the Exchequer, in the Record Office, and I have also found it on a copy of vol. i. of Sir Anthony FitzHerbert's *Grand Abridgment of the Common Law*, generally attributed to Wynkyn de Worde, but really printed by Rastell in 1516, in the possession of our Fellow Mr. J. A. Fuller Maitland. The covers are lined with four sheets of an eleventh or twelfth century copy of the Epistles, measuring about 12 by 9 inches, in double columns of 51 lines each. The following is the collation of the MS.; it will be found somewhat differing from that given by Dr. Montagu James, in his *Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Eton College* (Cambridge, 1895), the alterations arising from the light thrown on the original state of the book by the music:

a=7; b=8 (3—6 missing); c=8 (4, 5 missing); d=8; e (missing); f=8 (1, 2, 7, and 8 missing); g=8; h=8; i=8; k=8; l=8; m=8; (n, o, p, missing); q=8; r=8 (4, 5 missing); s (missing); t=8 (1, 2, 3, 6, 7 missing); v=8; x=8; y (missing); z=8; aa (missing); bb=8 (2—7 missing); cc—dd (missing); ee=9 (4, 5, 6 missing); in all 98 leaves missing.

The MS. was evidently originally intended for use at Eton, and from various small points I am inclined to conjecture that it was written by someone intimately connected with both Eton and Oxford. The calligraphy is remarkably bold and clear, the red being especially brilliant. The initials are carefully done. For the most part they are in two styles, as Dr. James points out, one the ordinary style of the period, the other that of the ornamental penman. To these must be added a third and much ruder style, which is to be found in a set of initials representing the angelic hierarchy prefixed to a setting of the Salve Regina, by Robert Wilkinson, in 9 parts, on fols. 33b and 34a. These initials have evidently been either painted specially for this composition, or have been cut out of some other MS., for they are not on the same vellum as the music, but pasted or glued to it. Each group of

angels bears a scroll containing the name of the order to which it belongs, the nine choirs being thus distributed among the different voices:

Seraphyn . . .	Quatriplex.
Cherubyn . . .	Triplex.
Troni	Medius.
Dominationes . .	Primus Contratenor.
Principatus . . .	Secundus Contratenor.
Virtutes . . .	Inferior Contratenor.
Potestates . . .	Tenor.
Angeli . . .	Primus Bassus.
Archangeli . . .	Secundus Bassus.

At the foot of fol. 34a, the following lines explain how this elaborate composition was to be sung:

Antiphona hec christi laudem sonat atque marie
Et decus angelicis concinit ordinibus
Qui sunt angeli erunt archangeli et ordo sequetur
Virtutumque potestatum tunc principat alter
Post domina-que-tiones adde tronos cherubynque
Et seraphyn junges que loca summa tenent.

These directions are not very clear, and their exact meaning could only be ascertained by scoring the composition, but they evidently point to there being some ingenious canon in the music, such devices being reckoned at that time the highest form to which musical art could aspire. This Salve Regina is also curious as being written in white breves and semibreves, all the rest of the book being in black or red notes of this value. It is probably this, or the fact that the composition is not entered in the Index, which has led Mr. H. Davey, who examined the MS. and describes it in his *History of English Music*, to say that the motet has been inserted at a later date. That this is not the case is shown by the writing on fols. 33a and 36b, which is the same as that of the rest of the MS.

Returning to the examination of the decoration of the MS., a series of heraldic shields demands some attention.

fol. 1b.—The initial O to the triplex of John Browne, "O Maria salvatoris mater," contains the arms of Eton College.

fol. 50a.—In the triplex of a Salve Regina for seven voices, by John Sutton, are the arms of Eton College.

fols. 64b and 65a.—Five shields in the initials of a five-part motet, "O domine

celi terreque creator," by Richard Davy, organist of Magdalen College, Oxford, at the end of the fifteenth century. The arms are as follows:

Triplex . .	England.
Tenor . . .	Edward the Confessor.
Contratenor . .	Bishop William of Waynflete, or Magdalen College, Oxford.
Medius . . .	*Sable, a fess or between 3 harts' heads cabossed argent.*
Bassus . . .	Eton College (much erased, apparently wilfully).

The arms in the medius part are those of Henry Bost, who was elected provost 3rd March, 1477-8, and died 7th February, 1502-3. In Ashmole's time, *circa* 1660, they were visible upon Bost's brass, which then lay "at the entrance into the Quire" in the college chapel. But in a rubbing of the brass in the collection of the Society of Antiquaries, made before its "restoration," only the fess is visible, the white metal of which the stags' heads were composed having perished since Ashmole's days.[a]

fol. 100A.—The initial of the tenor of an "O Mater venerabilis," in five parts, by John Browne, contains the following shield of arms: *Sable, a chevron argent between three lilies slipped proper; on a chief gules, three owls of the second.*

This has so far remained unidentified. It clearly belongs to a group of similar arms adopted or granted about the same time, and of these several examples may be found which are based upon the silver lilies and black field of the Eton College arms. Thus William of Waynflete, bishop of Winchester, added to his paternal arms of Patten, *fusily ermine and sable*, a black chief charged with three silver lilies. Richard Mayew, President of Waynflete's College of St. Mary Magdalen at Oxford, 1408—1504, and afterwards Bishop of Hereford, bore *Argent, on a fess sable between three roses gules a silver lily*. The arms of Roger Lupton, provost of Eton 1503-4—1535, were *Argent, on a chevron between three wolfs' heads erased sable as many silver lilies; on a chief of the second a tau cross between two escallops or.* and Laurence Stubbs, another President of Magdalen College, Oxford (1525-27), bore *Sable, on a chevron engrailed between two lilies in chief and a pheon in base argent, three leopards' faces azure; on a chief gules two keys in saltire between as many wood-*

[a] In Ashmole MS. 1137, f. 115, is a description of the brass, with sketches of the shields then remaining. Two of them bore *a fess between three stags' heads cabossed*, and two bore similar arms but with the stags' heads upon escutcheons. Lipscomb in his *History of Buckinghamshire* (iv. 485) gives two divergent descriptions of the brass, and also an engraving of it, omitting the stags' heads in the first shield and representing those in the second as maunches. In the brass as "restored" the maunches have been turned into bulls' heads, and the same blundered arms have been assigned to Bost in the modern painted-glass windows hard by.

stocks or each transfixed with an arrow argent. It may be added that the arms under notice also resemble those of Hugh Oldham, bishop of Exeter, 1504-19, who bore *Sable, a chevron or between three owls argent; on a chief gold as many roses gules.* Mr. W. H. St. John Hope suggests that the arms may be allusive for Robert Aldridge or Aldrich, formerly schoolmaster of Eton, who became provost in 1536, and bishop of Carlisle in 1537. This would suit well, but according to the Parliament Roll of 1553 Aldridge's arms were totally different.[a]

At the beginning is an index to the book in its original condition, containing the first words of each motet, arranged alphabetically, the number of voices (in red), the composer's name, the quire (in red), the leaf of the quire, and lastly, the number of notes in the compass of each composition (in red). This last entry also occurs at the beginning of each motet; it is a detail which I have never seen given in any other musical MS., so it is hardly to be wondered at that its meaning should have puzzled Dr. James in preparing his Eton catalogue. As the index is printed in full in that work I need not repeat it here. Of the compositions which it contains the following alone are complete in the book as it stands at present:

Ascendit Christus . .	à 4 . . .	Lambe.
Ave Maria mater Dei .	à 5 . . .	Cornysch.
Gaude flore virginali . .	à 7 . . .	Kellyk.
,, ,, . .	à 4 . . .	Turges.
,, ,, . .	à 5 . . .	Horwud.
Gaude virgo mater . .	à 6 . . .	Sturton.
,, ,, . .	à 4 . . .	Cornysch.
Gaude rosa sine spina .	à 5 . . .	Fawkyner.[b]
Gaude virgo salutata . .	à 5 . . .	Fawkyner.
In honore summe matris .	à 5 . . .	Davy.
Nesciens mater virgo virum	à 5 . . .	Lambe.
O domine celi terreque .	à 5 . . .	Davy.
O Maria salvatoris mater .	à 8 . . .	Browne.
O Maria plena gracia .	à 6 . . .	,,
O Regina mundi clara .	à 6 . . .	,,
O Maria et Elizabeth .	à 5 . . .	Banester.
O Mater venerabilis . .	à 5 . . .	Browne.
Salve Jesu Mater vera .	à 5 . . .	Davy.

[a] They are therein given as: *Vert, on a fess argent between three garbs or banded gules two boughs of whitethorn saltirewise enfiled with a coronet, between a royal orb and a robin redbreast; all within a bordure or pometty.* See W. K. R. Bedford, the *Blazon of Episcopacy*, 2nd edition (London, 1897), 144.

[b] Dr. James reads incorrectly "Hawkynes."

[Salve Regina . . .	à 9 . . .	Wilkinson].[a]
Salva Regina . . .	à 7 . . .	Sutton.
,, ,, . . .	à 5 . . .	Horwud.
,, ,, . . .	à 5 . . .	Davy.
,, ,, . . .	à 5 . . .	Cornysch.
,, ,, . . .	à 5 . . .	Lambe.
,, ,, . . .	à 5 . . .	Browne.
,, ,, . . .	à 5 . . .	,,
,, ,, . . .	à 5 . . .	Hacumplaynt.
,, ,, . . .	à 5 . . .	Hygons.
,, ,, . . .	à 5 . . .	Huchyn.
,, ,, . . .	à 5 . . .	Hampton.
,, ,, . . .	à 5 . . .	Wylkynson.
,, ,, . . .	à 5 . . .	Fayrfax.
Stabat Mater dolorosa .	à 6 . . .	Browne.
,, ,, .	à 5 . . .	Davy.
Stabat juxta Christi crucem	à 6 . . .	Browne.
Stabat virgo Mater Christi .	à 6 . . .	,,
,, ,, .	à 4 . . .	,,
Stella celi	à 4 . . .	Lambe.
Virgo templum Trinitatis .	à 5 . . .	Davy.
Magnificat et exultavit .	à 5 . . .	Kellyk.
,, ,, .	à 5 . . .	Horwud.
,, ,, .	à 5 . . .	Lambe.
[Jesus autem transiens .	à 13 . . .	Wilkinson.[a]]

This makes a total of 43 perfect compositions out of the 97 which were in the book in its original state. Valuable as what remains is, one cannot but regret the loss of so much, including a "Gaude flore virginali" (à 5) by Dunstable, and a large part of a setting of the Passion for Palm Sunday (à 4) by Richard Davy. At the end of the MS. is a second index, from which the magnificats and other motets are omitted.

A perusal of the names of the motets enables a pretty good conjecture to be hazarded as to the purpose for which the book was written. From the first it is evident that music played an important part in King Henry VI's foundation at Eton. The 1440 scheme of the statutes provided for a provost, 10 fellows, 4 clerks, 6 choristers, a schoolmaster, 25 poor scholars, and 25 poor and infirm men, and in the constitution as eventually settled the number of the clerks was raised to 10, and that of the choristers to 16. That the qualification for the

[a] Not in index.

fellowships was, in part at least, a musical one is shown by John Blakman's account that King Henry, in selecting his fellows, "looked more to their learning than to their musical acquirements."[a] The original statutes provided for "4 clerks skilled in chant, of whom one only, the organist, may be married . . . . There shall be 16 poor choristers under twelve years of age, to sing in church and to serve at Mass daily." "The scholars shall be poor and needy boys of good character, with a competent knowledge of reading, of the grammar of Donatus, and of plain song." The choristers had preference for election to the scholarships. It was also ordered by the statutes that before leaving school in the afternoon the scholars should sing an antiphon of the Blessed Virgin, and towards evening they should say the Lord's Prayer in church and sing an antiphon before the image of the Blessed Virgin. It is remarkable that the volume before us consists almost without exception of motets to the Blessed Virgin and settings of the Magnificat, and there can hardly be any doubt that it was written with a view to the solemn singings of antiphons prescribed by the statutes. Considering the elaborate character of the composition, musical training at Eton must have been carried to a remarkable pitch, and it is not to be wondered at that "skill in music" is so often noted against the names of the early alumni of the college, nor that the present volume contains compositions by more than one Eton musician, not the least of whom was Robert Hacomblene, afterwards Provost of King's.

Turning to the contents of the MS. as it now stands, the following few notes may be of use for some future editor who will undertake to print it in score :

fol. a. 2 (1a).—"O Maria, salvatoris mater," by John Browne. This motet contains invocations to SS. Mary Magdalene, Frideswide, and Catherine, clearly pointing to a connection with both Oxford and Eton, the last-named saint, as the patroness of Henry VI.'s mother, being especially venerated in the college. Browne's name occurs in the Fairfax MS. (Add. MS. 5465), but nothing is known of him. He may have been the John Brown of co. Bucks, who was admitted at King's College, Cambridge, aged nineteen, in 1445. Of Hugo Kellyk (fol. a. 5) nothing is known.

fol. b. 2 (8a).—"O Maria, plena gratia," by Walter Lambe. This may have been the Walter Lambe who was admitted to Winchester from Arundel in 1500, aged thirteen, subsequently becoming a scholar and fellow of New College, Oxford, in 1510-11. In "An inventarye of the pryke songys longynge to the Kyngys

[a] "Minorascere eos potius tolleramus in musicalibus, quam in scripturam scientiis." *De virtutibus et miraculis Henrici VI.*, ed. Hearne, i. 296.

College in Cambryge" (in 1529)[a] there is an entry of "vj bokys of parchmente conteynynge (*inter alia*) Water Lambes Exultavit. Nunc dimittis off the same." The name also occurs of a William Lambe among the list of the Gentlemen of the Royal Chapel who attended Henry VIII. to the Field of the Cloth of Gold in 1520.[b]

fol. b. 7 (14 a).—An imperfect "Gaude flore virginali," by Richard Davy. He was a well-known musician of the end of the fifteenth century. In 1491 he filled the offices of clerk, instructor of the choristers, and organist at Magdalen College, Oxford. The college "Libri computi" for 1491-2 contain an entry of a payment of 13s. 4d. "Ricardo Davys pro stallo suo, et informacione choristarum, et pro media parte melodie organorum."[c] Music by him is to be found in the Fairfax MS., in Harl. MS. 1709, and in single part-books in the Cambridge University and St. John's College libraries. In the King's College inventory there occurs "an anteme off Davys."

fol. c. 4 (18 b).—An imperfect "O Regina celestis gloriæ," by Lambe. In the medius part between the lines of the music is written in red, "Hodie in Jordane," and in the contratenor part, "Magi videntes stellam." Possibly these may indicate the use of some plain chant melodies.

Three more compositions by Browne follow, then comes

fol. d. 6 (28 b).—"Gaude virgo mater Christi," by Edmund Sturton. He may be identified as the "Turton" who was clerk and instructor of the choristers at Magdalen College, Oxon, in 1509-10, when he received 3s. 4d. and 4s. 10d. "pro notacione diversorum cantuum." An "Ave Maria" by him is in a MS. at Lambeth Palace, and his name occurs in the list of authorities quoted by Thomas Morley in his *Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke* (1597).

fol. d. 8 (31 b).—Part of an "O virgo prudentissima," by Robert Wylkynson, a name which frequently occurs in the MS. A Robert Wylkynson was a demy of Magdalen in 1502, when he was cited with thirty other demies to the Visitation of Bishop Fox. Mr. Macray has kindly searched the bursar's accounts from 1505 to 1515 without finding any further mention of him; he took his bachelor's degree on 12 February, 1508-9.[d] In the "Salve Regina," the interesting initials of which have been already described, there is (fol. f.5 (35a)) an initial to the medius part containing his name in a scroll. His name also occurs at the end of the motet and

[a] Printed in the *Ecclesiologist* for April, 1863 (xxiv. 102).

[b] J. S. Brewer, *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII.*, iii. pt. i. 245.

[c] J. R. Bloxam, *Register of Magdalen College, Oxford* (Oxford, 1853-81), ii.

[d] Bloxam, iv. 47.

in the initial of the second bass on f.6 (36a) occur the words "Robert^{9} Wylkȳson cu^{9} aīe ꝑpiciet^{9} Dē," probably indicating that he was dead at the time the MS. was written. He is the composer of an interesting canon in 13 parts at the end of the book, a copy of which occurs in a MS. written towards the end of the sixteenth century by Baldwin of Windsor, preserved in the Queen's Library at Buckingham Palace. His name also occurs in Morley's list and in the King's College Inventory.

fol. f.3 (33 a).—Part of a "Gaude flore virginali," by William Cornysch. An account of this celebrated composer will be found in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. He was a member of the Chapel Royal, under both Henry VII. and VIII. He wrote a satirical ballad against Empson, for which he was imprisoned in the Fleet, where he wrote a *Treatise between Trouth and Enformacion*, which is to be found in the Royal MSS. (18 D. 11) at the British Museum. He was released by 1508-9, and in 1509 became master of the children. He took part in many court pageants from 1511 until his death, which took place before 1524. In 1520 he accompanied Henry VIII. with 10 children of the chapel to the Field of the Cloth of Gold. Music by him is to be found in a MS. at Caius College, Cambridge, in the Fairfax MS., and in Henry VIII.'s MS. (Add. MS. 31922). His name occurs as a composer of masses in the King's College Inventory. Against one of his compositions in the index to the Eton MS. is written "Bonus cantus," but this is unfortunately in the missing part of the book.

fol. f.7 (36 b).—Part of a "Salve Regina," by William Brygeman, a composer of whom nothing is known.

fol. g. 2 (39 b).—A "Salve Regina," by Horwud. He was probably the John Horwood, Horword, or Harwood whose name first occurs in 1487 in Allen's *Skeleton Collegii Regalis Cantabrigiensis* (Eton Library). He took his degree and became a fellow of King's in 1494 and subsequently went into Holy Orders (by the name of John Horwood) from the ordination of Dr. John Alcock, bishop of Ely. The King's College Inventory mentions "Horwod's gaude."

The next compositions are "Salve Regina's," by Richard Davy, William Cornysch, John Browne, and Walter Lambe. Then comes:

fol. h. 4 (49 b).—A "Salve Regina," by John Sutton. A person of this name was M.A. and Fellow of Magdalen in 1477, and there was also a John Sutton (possibly the same) who was elected Fellow of Eton, 29 July 1477.

fol. h. 6 (50 b).—A "Salve Regina," by Robert Hacomplaynt or Hacumplaynt. This was Robert Hacomblene, who was admitted to King's in 1472, was vicar of Prescot, Lancashire, 7 August, 1492, and became provost of King's, June 28, 1509. He died 8 September, 1528, and was buried in one of the chantry chapels on the south side of the college chapel, where there is a brass to his memory. He gave the brass

lectern to the chapel, and was the author of a commentary on the first 7 and part of the 8th books of Aristotle's ethics, which is preserved in the college library. The King's College Inventory mentions "Haycomplayne's *Gaude*." A James Hacoumbleyn, probably a relation of his, was churchwarden of Great St. Mary's in 1523.[a]

fol. h. 8 (52b).—A "Salve Regina," by Nicholas Howchyn. A "Hutchins or Hochyns" was clerk of Magdalen in 1508-9.[b] The composer of this motet may have been identical with a Nicholas Hawkins who was born at Putney, was a scholar of Eton, and became Fellow of King's in 1514. This Nicholas Hawkins became an LL.D., rector of Haddenham, and archdeacon of Ely. He died, as was supposed, of poison, in 1534. Allen records of him that in time of famine he sold all his goods and plate to feed the poor.

After a "Salve Regina," by Wylkynson, we come to

fol, i. 4 (56b).—A "Salve Regina," by Robert Fayrfax, the most celebrated English composer of the early sixteenth century. He was born at Bayford, Herts, and was organist of St. Alban's. In 1504 he took his Mus. Doc. degree at Cambridge, and in 1511 he was admitted to the same degree at Oxford. His degree exercise is preserved at Lambeth. In 1509 he became a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal, and in the following year received payments for the board and instruction of the choristers. On 10th September, 1514, he became a Poor Knight of Windsor. He accompanied Henry VIII. to the Field of the Cloth of Gold, died shortly before February, 1529, and was buried at St. Alban's. Much music by him survives in the MS. in the British Museum which bears his name, at Lambeth, and at Cambridge in the Caius College, University, St. John's, and Peterhouse libraries. He was one of Morley's authorities, and contributed to Wynkyn de Worde's *Boke of xx Songs* (1530), the first collection of mensurable music printed in England. The King's College inventory mentions an "Exultavit" and a "Quia viderunt" by him.

fol. i. 5. (58b).—A "Salve Regina," by Richard Hygons, as to whom nothing is known.

After a "Salve Regina," by John Browne, comes another:

fol. k. 2 (62b).—"Salve Regina," by John Hampton. Mr. Davy[c] conjectures that he was the "Hampton of Worcester, who was paid 20s. for making of balades in 1495." Mr. Bloxam[d] records that at Magdalen "Dr. Hampton succeeded

[a] Cole's MSS. xiii. 81.

[b] W. D. Macray, *A Register of the Members of St. Mary Magdalen College, Oxford, from the Foundation of the College* (Oxford, 1894), i. 177.

[c] *History of English Music*, 91.

[d] *Op. cit.* iii. 70.

J. Goldyffe as usher in 1499, and continued in that office till 1502. On 24th January, 1511-12, one John Hampton was incorporated, being abbot of St. Austin's, Canterbury, and DD. beyond the seas."

fol. k. 4 (64b).—"O domine celi terreque creator," by Richard Davy. In this composition occur the shields of arms which have been already described. The music is remarkable, for each part begins with a passage without words,[a] and at the end it is recorded that "Hanc antiphonam composuit Ricardus Davy uno die collegio Magdalene Oxoniis," an accomplishment which was decidedly remarkable. After four more motets by Davy, we come to

fol.m. 3 (79b).—"O Maria et Elizabeth," by Gilbert Banester, containing a long prayer for the king, evidently written during the reign of Henry VII. It is rather curious that the Privy Purse Expenses of Elizabeth of York contain a payment of 20s. on 22nd March, 1502, "to Robert Fairfax for setting an Anthem of oure Lady and Saint Elizabeth." Not much is known of Banester except that he was master of the children in the Chapel Royal from 1482 to 1509. By the Act of Resumption of 22 Edw. IV. he was protected in the enjoyment of a salary of 40 marks per annum for the "exhibition, instruction and governaunce of" the children of the chapel.[b] Music by him is to be found in the Fayrfax MS. and the Pepysian library.

Two motets by Horwud and one by Cornysch are next followed by

fol. q. 4 (90b).—A "Gaude virgo salutata," and (q. 6, 92b) a "Gaude rosa sine spina," by Fawkyner, a composer about whom nothing is known.

fol. r. 1 (95b).—"Gaude flore virginali," by Edmund Turges. According to Allen two members of this family were connected with Eton. William Turges, of Petworth, came to King's College in 1513. He became a physician in Norfolk, leaving the college when a Fellow, and having preferment in the church. He was afterwards a Fellow of Arundel College. Edmund Turges, also of Petworth, was admitted to King's in 1522. Of an earlier generation was one John Turges, a harper to Queen Margaret, mentioned in the Act of Resumption of 28 Hen. 6.[c] Music by Turges (whose name sometimes occurs as "Sturges") is to be found in the Caius and

[a] I am informed by Mr. G. E. P. Arkwright (to whom I am indebted for much valuable information) that in the Pepysian Library (MS. 1236) is a three-part "O quam glorifica," by Fowler, in which one part only has words, the others being clearly intended for instruments. So far as can be judged from the fragment which remains, the same peculiarity occurs in Wilkinson's "O virgo prudentissima" (fol. d. 8) of the Eton MS.

[b] *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, vi. 200, quoted by Nicolas, *Privy Purse Expenses of Elizabeth of York*, 185.

[c] Bell's *Works of Chaucer* (Edinburgh, 1782), xiii. 105.

Fayrfax MSS. In the latter is a well-known song by him on the marriage of Prince Arthur and Catherine of Aragon, beginning

> From stormy wyndis and greuous whethir
> Good Lord preserve the estrige fethir.

As this must have been written between the marriage and death of Arthur, *i.e.* between 14th November, 1501 and 2nd April, 1502, it may be concluded that the composer was not the same Edmund Turges who entered King's in 1522. Possibly he was the latter's father and son of John Turges the harper. The King's College inventory mentions "vj bokys off parchmente conteyninge Turges massys and antems."

From here the list of names mainly consists of repetitions, nor do the motets themselves call for any comment. To the end of the book only four new composers appear. These are Holyngborne (x. 7, 121a), Nesbett (y. 8), Sygar (bb. 8, 135a), and Dompn^{s} Wyll^{s} Stratford monachus Stratfordie" (ee. 2, 138b). Of these, Nesbett alone is known by compositions in the Pepysian library. Who the monk of Stratford was cannot be said. The Cistercian monastery of Stratford Langthorne, at West Ham, Essex, was surrendered in 1538. The deed, dated 29th March, contains the signatures of four monks named William, viz.: the abbot, who signs simply "William;" the prior, William Persouns; William Danyell; and William Peyrson, any of whom may have been the composer. It is just worth mentioning that a "Parker monk of Stratford" occurs among the composers in a MS. in the British Museum (Royal App. 58).

On the last page of the MS. (fol. ee. g, 145a) is the canon in 13 parts, by Robert Wylkynson, which has been already mentioned. It consists of a setting of the Apostles' Creed, prefixed by the words "Jesus autem transiens," for 13 voices, the number of voices being indicated by the names of the Apostles, each written at the beginning of the words of the Creed which he is traditionally said to have written. The division differs slightly from that given by Durandus in his *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*, but there are many examples which show that traditions on this point were not definitely fixed. At the end of the composition the following lines give the clue to the canon:

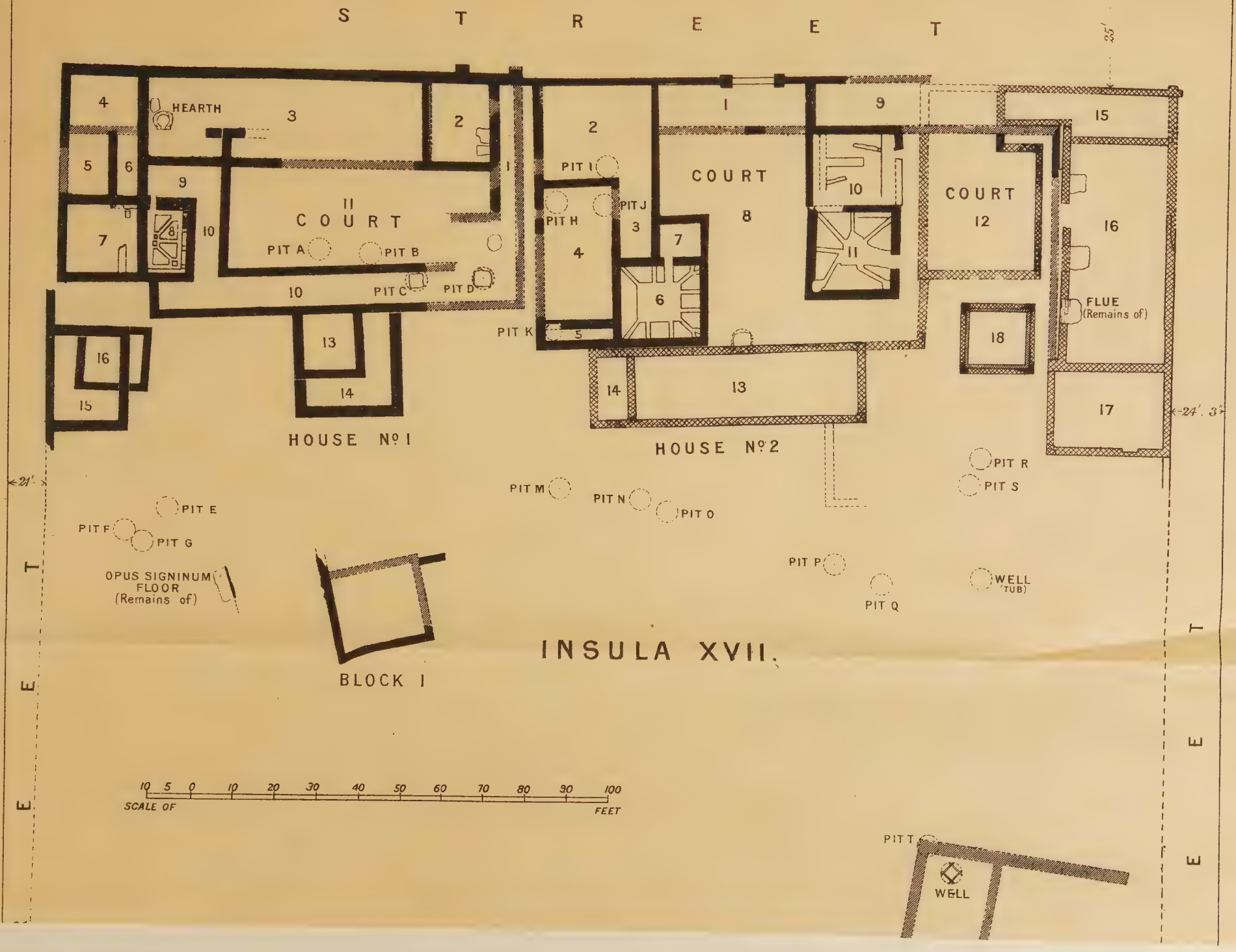
> Huius distinctas muse tot sumito partes
> Margine quot parvo nomina scripta vides.

Mr. J. Stainer, who has a remarkable gift for the solution of such musical puzzles, has kindly deciphered this canon for me. It turns out to be practically a succession of the common chords of C, F, and D minor, each voice entering at intervals of 16 bars. The effect cannot have been very striking, and the only wonder is how ever the performance came to an end.

It only remains to say a few words about the musical value of the MS. in the history of music. And here I feel that I am met with two great difficulties. In the first place it is almost impossible to give any critical opinion of works which are written in separate parts and in a notation which is practically obsolete, and secondly the knowledge we possess of the English schools of music of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries is still far too imperfect for any generalisations such as would be understood by antiquaries not specially versed in music. With these reservations, I think that the following conclusions may be safely hazarded. It was generally accepted by the theorists of the period that the first great steps in the development of musical science took place in England, and that the earliest composer who had any claim to be considered a contrapuntist was John Dunstable, of whom we know little, save that he died in 1453 and was buried in St. Stephen's, Walbrook. Almost simultaneously with Dunstable there appeared in the Netherlands two musicians, Binchois, who died at Lille in 1460, and Dufay, who died 14 years later at Cambrai, who founded the great school of composers which reached its highest development in Orlando de Lasso and Palestrina. The seniority of Dunstable has lately been conclusively established, but the disappearance of his compositions and the oblivion into which they had completely fallen in his own country, even by the time when Morley wrote, caused him to be looked upon as a sort of myth. Within the last ten years, however, the fortunate discovery of a vast collection of fifteenth century music at Trent, and the unearthing of precious MSS. at Bologna and Modena, have provided material for a critical estimate of the relative positions occupied by these early composers. Much of this material has unfortunately been rendered temporarily inaccessible by the jealousy of the Austrian Government, which has reserved to itself the right of using in any form the Trent MSS. Without infringing on this right, it may be said that the Trent MSS., and in a lesser degree those at Bologna and Modena, have revealed the fact that Dunstable did not stand alone in England, the collections which contain his compositions also comprising works by Englishmen named Lionel Power, Bedingham, John Benet, Driffelde, Forest, Richard Markham, Standley or Sandley, and Stowe. Of these men no trace now remains in this country, and consequently a great gap existed in the history of English music until the early years of Henry VIII., when we are confronted by the fact that there existed a school which had carried the art of composition to an extraordinary pitch of intricacy, if not of perfection, a school of which Robert Fayrfax may be taken as the chief representative. It is remarkable that, with few exceptions, the Eton MS. contains no names to be found in either what we may roughly call the Dunstable or the Fayrfax school. Dunstable was indeed represented by a single composition,

contained in the missing leaves, and of Fayrfax, Cornysh, and Turges, a little more is to be found, but the majority of names are those of composers whose names do not occur in either the Trent, Modena, or Bologna collections It is therefore safe to conclude that this MS. supplies the missing link, and represents the tendencies of English music from the death of Dunstable until the rise of Fayrfax. As such, its importance cannot be too highly estimated. The earlier school rarely, if ever, attempted to write in more than four parts, and generally confined its efforts to three-part harmony; the latter has advanced to a stage in which their fluency was remarkable, nor did they hesitate to indulge in those intricacies which have probably had much to do with preventing what has survived of their work from being properly appreciated. The men who wrote the music in the Eton MS. had already mastered the art of writing in five parts, which remained practically the norm with the great polyphonic school of the sixteenth century, and they even ventured upon experiments in writing in 7, 8, and 9 parts. That this music would sound beautiful to our ears is extremely improbable, and in this respect, if it is fair to judge so large a mass of music from the few numbers which Mr. Stainer and I have scored, the Englishmen were possibly inferior to their Netherlandish contemporaries. But to a musical historian the collection is of infinite value and interest, and it is most sincerely to be wished that some means could be found of scoring and publishing it in modern notation. For Eton it has an especial interest, for to my mind it reveals the fact that almost alone in England, during the troubled times at the end of the fifteenth century, a school of native composers was educated and flourished at King Henry's College and its closely allied foundations at Oxford and Cambridge. Apart from the names in the present volume, Allen's MS. and Harwood's *Alumni* prove that many skilled musicians were educated at Eton. John Russell, a singing-man at Fotheringhay, was admitted to King's from Eton in 1499; William Smith went from the college to Cambridge in 1513, afterwards becoming *clericus musicalis* at Walsingham; John Fryer, another Eton *alumnus*, was said to be "skilled in music and the lute," and of Robert Noake, vice-provost in 1501, and afterwards dean of Christ Church, it is recorded that "he had excellent skill in music."

It is pleasant to think that the Eton tradition of the value of music has never been lost sight of. Dr. Arne, the greatest English composer of the eighteenth century, was an Eton man, and in our own day one of our leading musicians, the present head of the Royal College of Music, was educated at Eton and Oxford, and may claim, in more than a merely musical sense, to be the successor of these musicians of the fifteenth century. Is it too much to hope that with this long musical record, some Eton man may be found to undertake the labour and cost of rendering this monument of the musical activity of the college in the past accessible to modern students?


S T R E E T
HEARTH
HOUSE Nº 1
HOUSE Nº 2
COURT
PIT A
PIT B
PIT C
PIT D
PIT E
PIT F
PIT G
PIT H
PIT I
PIT J
PIT K
PIT M
PIT N
PIT O
PIT P
PIT Q
PIT R
PIT S
PIT T
FLUE
(Remains of)
OPUS SIGNINUM
FLOOR
(Remains of)
WELL
(TUB)
WELL
BLOCK I
INSULA XVII.
SCALE OF
FEET
10 5 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100
25'
24'. 3"
21'

SILCHESTER._PLAN OF INSULA XVII.

VIII.—*Excavations on the site of the Roman city at Silchester, Hants, in* 1897. *By* W. H. St. John Hope, *Esq., M.A., and* George E. Fox, *Esq., Hon. M.A. Oxon., F.S.A.*

Read 26th May, 1898.

We have the honour of laying before the Society of Antiquaries, on behalf of the Executive Committee of the Silchester Excavation Fund, an account of the excavations carried out by the Committee in 1897, for the eighth successive season.

The excavations were resumed on the 3rd May, under the direction of Mr. Frederick Davis, and continued by Mr. Herbert Jones, and completed after harvest by Mr. Davis and Mr. Mill Stephenson. The thanks of all antiquaries are due to these gentlemen for the patient care and diligence so freely bestowed by them upon the work.

The area excavated in 1897 lies on the west side of the main street traversing the city from north to south, and extends from *Insula* III. (which was explored in 1891) southwards to the wall adjoining the south gate. It covers about five acres and contains two *insulæ*, which have been numbered XVII. and XVIII. on the plan of the city.

Buildings in Insula XVII. and Insula XVIII. By W. H. St. John Hope, M.A.

The northern of the two *insulæ*, XVII., is 266 feet wide from east to west, and 384 feet from north to south, and had streets on each of its four sides (Plate V.). It contained certainly three houses and perhaps two others, as well as two detached

buildings of a character hitherto not met with at Silchester. The principal structures were two large houses extending along the whole of the north side of the *insula*, and abutting on the street there, which was 25 feet wide. Both houses are of the courtyard type, but the disposition of the various chambers is somewhat different from the usual type.

House No. I. had the principal division on the north, and a street frontage there of 109 feet. Two piers projecting into the street at its north-east corner suggest that the main entrance was between them, but, as will be seen from the plan, if there were any, there were apparently two doors here, one opening into a chamber, the other into a narrow passage only 3 feet 6 inches wide leading to the southern part of the house. This passage (1) was paved with coarse red *tesseræ*. The chamber (2) has against its east wall two masses of tiling, which appear to have formed part of a hearth or fireplace. This arrangement of the entrance is so different from the usual one, where a wide doorway between the piers opens into a lobby or corridor, that it would appear as if a considerable alteration had taken place here.

The remainder of the range, from chamber 2 westwards, forms on plan one room about 65 feet long and 19 feet wide. No traces of subdivisions were found, but these might have been of lath and plaster, all traces of which have disappeared.[a] Near the west end is a T-shaped foundation projecting into the room. The eastern limb of this seems to have continued further, but the western limb was only 4 feet long; it may have formed a support for a dresser. Just beyond it, and close to the west wall, is the base of a circular hearth or furnace for a copper, and beside it a patch of tiles burnt to whiteness. It is possible that here was the kitchen of the mansion.

The northern division abuts against another forming the west side of the house and lining the street in that direction. It contained the winter quarters, and consisted of a room (4) at the north end, another and narrower one (5) south of it, with a passage (6) to a third chamber (7) beyond, which seems to have been warmed by a hypocaust. On the east of this chamber, and apparently opening out of it, was another (8), also warmed by a hypocaust. The hypocaust under (7) was almost wholly destroyed, but that under (8) was fairly perfect, and of the

[a] Such stud partitions were used to subdivide the central portion of the principal of the three houses forming the so-called *villa* at Darenth, Kent, excavated by Mr. George Payne, F.S.A., in 1894-5 (see *Archæologia Cantiana*, xxii. 49-84). This portion was 80 feet long and 23 feet 9 inches wide, but had been subdivided by partitions into six unequal sections. The partitions were formed of wood, plastered on both sides, and varied in thickness from $7\frac{1}{2}$ to 15 inches.

channelled type, with flues in the east and north walls. On the latter side was also the stokehole. The walls of the smaller hypocaust and the blocks within were built chiefly of grey sandstone and flints, covered with pink plaster to protect them from direct contact with the fire. As there were no signs of an opening by which the hypocaust under room (7) could have been worked, it is probable that it was originally continuous with that under the room east of it, and subsequently walled off and its materials used elsewhere. The stokehole (9) was formed by cutting off a section of a corridor (10) which extended round the three free sides of the room (8). The absence of flues points to a door of communication from the corridor on the south side. From this point the corridor (10) extends eastwards for a distance of 85 feet, with a width of 7 feet 6 inches, along the southern side of the courtyard (11) of the house. The court had an average width of 23 feet, but its length is uncertain, owing to the destruction of a chamber or chambers (12) that closed its east end. These chambers were floored with coarse red *tesseræ*. The southern corridor also had a tesselated pavement, two patches of which, near its east end, were preserved through the subsidence of old pits (C and D) beneath them. The *tesseræ* here were white, with a mixture of red in the western patch. Projecting southwards from the centre of the corridor was originally a small chamber (13) with well-built walls, about 12 feet square. This was subsequently extended eastwards and southwards to form a larger apartment (14) about 22 feet square, perhaps a summer *triclinium*. The house probably had an upper floor extending over the west, north, and east sides, reached by a staircase in the destroyed eastern wing.

A few feet south of the west wing, and abutting against a wall there lining the street, was a detached building (15) 20 feet long and about 16 feet wide, probably the stabling of the mansion. Its foundations partly cover and cut through those of a somewhat smaller building (16) which it no doubt superseded.

South of the house under notice are the remains of a detached square chamber (Block I.), westward of which is a patch of *opus signinum* flooring adjoining a fragment of wall. These may have formed part of some destroyed building.

Immediately to the east of House No. 1, and separated from it by a narrow strip barely 3 feet wide, is House No. 2. Like House No. 1, it has a frontage to the street on the north of 155 feet, but the plan is somewhat complicated by the existence of a series of older foundations on its eastern side. If these be disregarded the house consists of western, central, and eastern wings, connected by a corridor on the north, and with intermediate courtyards. The western courtyard is practically closed by a long detached building on the south. The house

was entered from the street on the north by a wide doorway, flanked by brick piers, which probably carried an entablature of some architectural pretensions. The door opened into a corridor or vestibule (1) paved with red *tesseræ*, and communicating at each end with the central and western wings of the house. The west wing has at its north end a large square chamber (2), entered from the corridor, with a passage (3) leading southwards from the south-east corner. This passage partly overlaps a large room (4), also extending southwards for 31½ feet, which may have been subdivided. Beyond this is a strip (5), 2 feet 6 inches wide and 16 feet 3 inches long, that probably contained the staircase to an upper floor. The passage (3) leads to the winter apartment of the wing (6). This was a chamber measuring 19 feet by 17 feet, warmed by a composite hypocaust, which was fed from a stokehole (7) on the north. The absence of flues in the west wall of the room suggests that it had a wide opening on that side communicating with the southern part of chamber (4).

The street vestibule (1) has beyond it on the east a second corridor (9) of the same width, 10 feet, leading to the central and west wings of the house. The central wing consists of two chambers (10) and (11), each about 18 feet square, one beyond the other, both warmed by channelled hypocausts. The furnace openings are on the east in each case. The northern room seems originally to have been subdivided, and evidently underwent other alterations than the insertion of a hypocaust. The southern chamber is clearly a later addition. The courtyard (12) east of these rooms is underlaid by the foundations of a lesser enclosure of earlier date. From the south-west angle of this a wall extended southwards for a short distance, and then turned westwards to join a long building (13) and (14), which on plan closes the other courtyard (8) of the house. This building partly overlaps the south end of the west wing, and runs parallel with it for some distance, with an interval of 3 inches only. Outside its north wall, in the courtyard, is a patch of red tesselation over an old pit (L), evidently a relic of some work connected with the long building, and, with it, anterior to the west wing of the mansion. Probably both were destroyed when the new wing was built.

The eastern wing of the house chiefly consists of part of the older structure. It had a frontage to the main street of nearly 90 feet, with a depth of about 23 feet, and consisted of three sections: a narrow strip (15) on the north; a central division (16), 52 feet long; and a southern chamber (17), some 18 feet wide, with a doorway in its south wall. The main section was probably subdivided. On its east side were traces of red mosaic, and against its west wall two patches of red and white *tesseræ*. When the house was reconstructed, the west wall

was taken down and rebuilt about its own width further west, so as to range with chamber (17), which projected a little beyond the rest of the wing. On the foundation of the destroyed wall there lie, towards the southern end of (16), the remains of a long hearth, not unlike those found in connection with the dyeworks in *Insulæ* X. and XI.

One other feature remains to be noticed, a detached building (18), about 13 feet square, placed a few feet away from the west wall of the wing. It had brick quoins and was well built, but there is nothing to indicate its use.

In and immediately to the south of both the houses described a number of rubbish pits were found, but none yielded anything of interest. To the south of House No. 2 a well, 14 feet deep, was met with, having at the bottom a wooden tub in a somewhat decayed condition.

The central part of the *insula* was destitute alike of buildings or pits, but as the trenches proceeded further southwards the foundations of an irregular series of structures were disclosed, extending as far as the street and across the southern fringe of the *insula*.

The principal building was a house (No. 3) of the corridor type, standing within the south-east angle of the *insula* at some little distance from the street, with which it formed a small angle. It stood roughly north and south and consisted of a central row of chambers (1) (2) and (3), placed between two corridors (4) and (5), with a long chamber or enclosure (6) extending across the width of the house at its southern end. The entire block was 80 feet long and 38 feet wide. From the thinness of its walls, which averaged 15 inches only, the house was probably an early one. Projecting westwards from about the middle of the western corridor was a winter room (7), warmed by a composite hypocaust, with furnace hole on the south. From the greater thickness of its walls this room may be an addition to the original plan. On the opposite side of the house are two slight projections from the other corridor. The northern is an L-shaped mass of masonry. The southern is indicated by the mortar-bed of the floor of a small enclosure, 4 feet square, the walls of which had been destroyed. Immediately outside the south wall of the cross chamber (6) was a heap of broken roof-tiles.

Three of the four walls of the main block of the house seem to have been continued northward to form an additional wing nearly as long as the house itself, with a continuation at right angles to it towards the street. Both in the corridor to this (*see* plan) and at the north end were remains of red tesselation. The floor had sunk over a pit (T) lying under the north-west corner in such a manner

as to have become vertical. Just within this north end of the house was a shallow well with the usual square wooden framing at the bottom.

To the south of the house is a large patch of rammed gravel, with occasional fragments of broken tiles, apparently the floor of some destroyed wooden building. Close to it on its north side are the remains of a hearth or furnace.

A little to the west of the southern part of House No. 3 are the foundations of a somewhat singular building (Block II.). It consisted originally of a chamber 15 feet wide with a semi-circular projection of the same width on its north side, making its total length 21 feet. In front of the apse are the brick bases or foundations of the piers of an arch that opened into it. Subsequently an opening was made in the west wall, and a somewhat irregular extension, about 6 feet wide, built out there. The original chamber was warmed by a channelled hypocaust, which was afterwards extended to the added portion. The furnace opening was in the middle of the east wall. Just beside it to the south is the brick substructure of a hearth or furnace, apparently for a boiler or tank of some kind. The building was complete in itself, and though careful search was made all round it for connecting walls, it was certainly not attached in any way to the houses near to which it stood. With the exception of the added piece, where the work was not so good, the walls were well built of flint rubble. As we shall shortly describe another building of similar arrangement, the consideration of their use may for the present be deferred.

About 12 feet north of Block II. was a well, 21 feet deep, with a square-framed wooden lining at the bottom. About 24 feet to the east was also another well, 18 feet deep, containing a very perfect wooden tub. On this there will be more to be said later.

Between Block II. and the street to the south are the foundations, chiefly of gravel, of three series of walls. They represent (A) two chambers of unequal size, abutting on the street, each with some remains of a red mosaic floor; (B) a building about 68 feet long extending northwards from the street, with which it makes a slight angle, and also retaining in one place a patch of red mosaic; and (C) another building (House No. 4) parallel to the last, and 76 feet long, consisting of a row of four chambers, of which the southermost (4) was warmed by a hypocaust. This building stands within the *insula* a few feet from the street. The two chambers and the other long building appear to have belonged to a destroyed house (No. 5), of which they are the only existing remains.

The northernmost room of House No. 4 has in its north-west corner the brick supports of a furnace or copper, and was perhaps the kitchen. The hypocaust in

SILCHESTER. ISOLATED BUILDING WITH HYPOCAUST IN INSULA XVII.

(*From a photograph by* Mr. Victor White, *of Reading.*)

chamber 4 was apparently a pillared one, with the furnace opening on the east side, but the interior had been completely gutted. The sockets of two of the flues remained in the west wall. There was nothing to show whether, or on which side, the house had a corridor. It was probably a wooden pentice and so has left no traces.

West of House No. 4 lay one of the square detached buildings (Block III.) that accompany so many of the houses at Silchester. This example measured internally 14 feet by $12\frac{1}{4}$ feet, and did not stand square with the street or the dwelling to which it may be assumed to have belonged. In this respect, too, it resembles other examples.

On the extreme west of the *insula* and abutting on the street there at a distance of 34 feet from the corner was a building (Block IV.) containing two chambers. The northern was 21 feet square, with apparently an entrance from the street. The southern was an oblong chamber measuring 21 feet by 11 feet 9 inches, standing east and west (Plate VI.). It was warmed by a pillared hypocaust, composed of seven rows, each of twelve tile *pilæ*, with the furnace-hole on the east side. Between the third and fourth rows was a wider space to allow of the ashes being raked out. In the south-east part of the room the wall and the *pilæ* had sunk considerably into an old pit beneath. On clearing out the hypocaust it was found to be underlaid by a brick flue, which extended from just in front of the furnace-hole in a slightly oblique direction to the opposite end of the room and through the wall to the outer air. Two branch flues also seem to have extended from it to the south wall. The object of this arrangement is not apparent. No doubt the flues were originally those of a channelled hypocaust, but this was subsequently overlaid by another constructed of *pilæ*. Possibly the connecting of the main flues of the old hypocaust with the open air was to occasion an increased draft through an additional inlet. Outside the building, and against the east wall immediately north of the furnace-hole, were the remains of the brick base of a hearth, apparently, as in Block II., of a boiler or tank.

Although the warmed chamber in Block IV. and that forming Block II. differ in plan and in the arrangement of the hypocausts, there can be little doubt that both were used for the same purpose, but what that use was is uncertain. The external furnace suggests the boiling of some liquid in which stuffs were first steeped, then removed within the building to dry quickly. If this was a branch of the dyeing industry it is singular that such structures have not been found at Silchester in connection with the other supposed traces of dyeworks. They may, however, have belonged to some other manufacture. Structures which at first

sight seem similar have been noticed within the Roman camp of the Saalburg, near Homburg, where there are several.[a] But there can hardly have been anything in common between a purely military station like the Saalburg and a large town like Silchester, and the two series of buildings, though similar in construction, need not have had the same use.

With regard to *Insula* XVIII. it seems probable, from the absence of all traces of a street on its west side in continuation of the one there bounding *Insula* XVII., that it really forms part of a long and almost triangular *insula* extending right up to the south-west angle of the city. In this respect it resembles *Insula* VIII., which lies south of *Insula* VII. and that east of it without subdivision by a cross street. The excavations this year, which are already in progress, will probably enable us to settle the question.

Like *Insula* XVII., that under notice has its northern portion entirely filled with the foundations of buildings (Plate VII.).

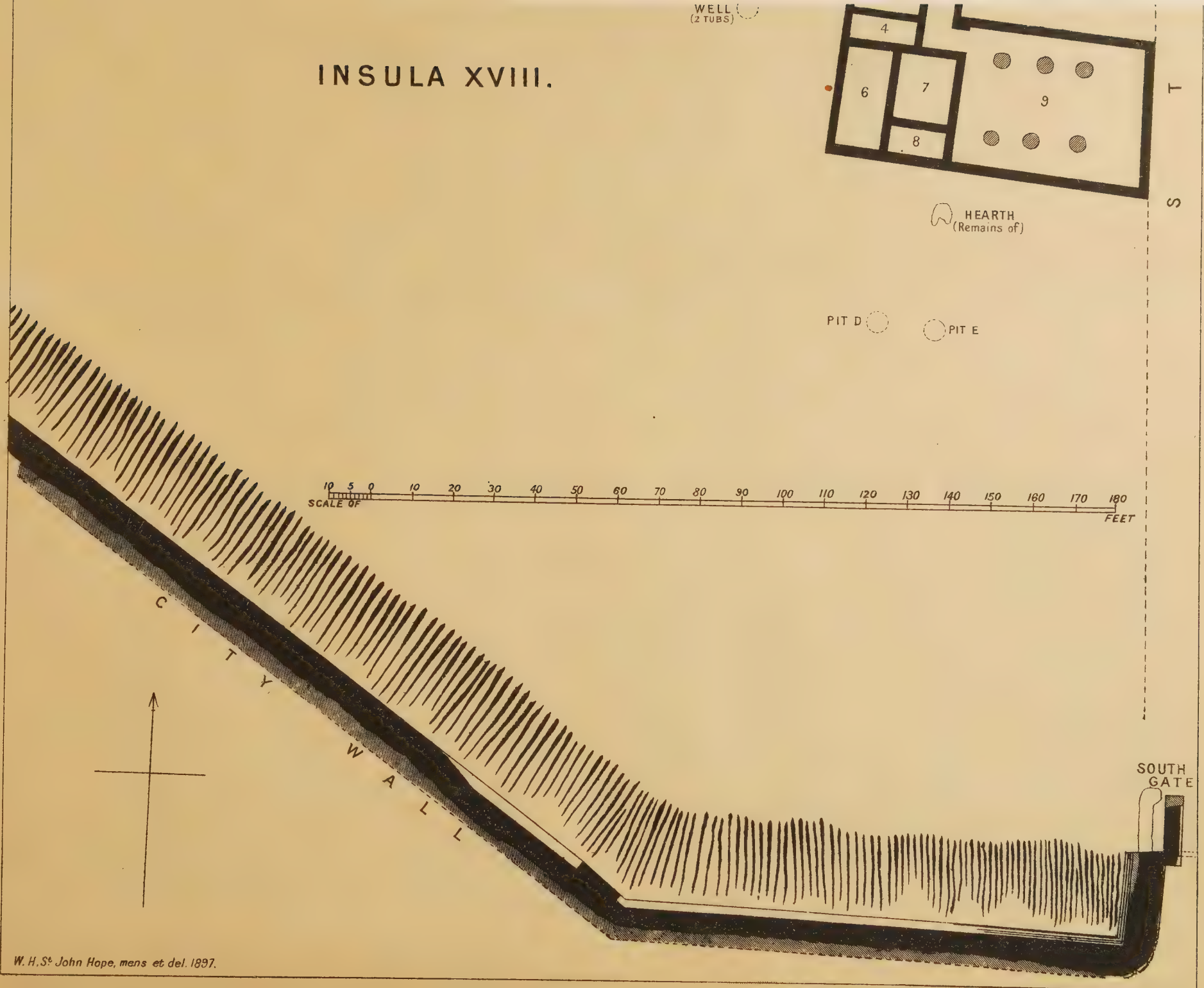
One of these, at the north-east angle, with frontages to both streets, may be called House No. 1. Its plan is unusually complicated owing to the superposition of two later buildings upon an early one underlying both, but a little patient unravelling makes all clear. The oldest structure was in plan a simple parallelogram, at least 66 feet long and 15 feet wide, but the east end has been destroyed. It lay east and west, parallel with the street, with a narrow interval between them. There was at least one subdivision, near its west end. After its demolition there was erected across its western part a building 33 feet wide extending southwards from the street for 64 feet. It contained two parallel sections, but the western one has been almost entirely obliterated. The eastern section was divided by cross walls into a large and two small chambers. In the centre of the large chamber the subsidence of an old rubbish pit has preserved a patch of its floor of drab stone *tesseræ*. The foundations of this building have embedded in them in several places the fragments of a huge erratic boulder which had been broken up for the purpose.

The third structure erected upon the site was a house, apparently of the corridor type, but only the northern division can be made out with any certainty. This had a frontage to the north of 80 feet, and contained a row of four rooms (1), (4), (5), and (6), each 18 feet long and nearly as wide, and two lesser (2) and (3) formed by the subdivision of a strip 6 feet wide. South of room 6 is another (7) of

[a] L. Jacobi, *Das Römerkastell Saalburg bei Homburg vor der Höhe* (Homburg, 1897), Taf. iv. and Taf. viii.

S T R E E T
HOUSE Nº 2
COURT
PIT A
FIREPLACE
HOUSE Nº 1
PIT B
PIT C
HEARTH
FLUE
YARD
BLOCK I
HOUSE Nº 3
S T R E E T

INSULA XVIII.



W. H. St. John Hope, mens et del. 1897.

L. F. KELL, PHOTO-LITHO

about the same area, east of which are some pieces of foundation and patches of mosaic flooring. These belong apparently to a corridor (8) paved with coarse black *tesseræ* with central band of red, and to a chamber (9) on the south with a mosaic pavement formed of red and black checkers with a broad black border. The site of the eastern end of the corridor and the ground directly south of it were covered with a floor or pavement of rough white cement with very irregular limits, extending nearly as far as the patches of mosaic. Under part of this lay the gravel foundations of lines of wall, which in one place formed a small chamber (10). Sunk in the south-west angle of this was a large jar of grey pottery, with painted black bands. The top was somewhat damaged, but the recovery of a piece of the rim shows that it was $22\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height and 22 inches in diameter. This exceptionally fine vessel was discovered on the day of the celebration of Her Majesty's Diamond Jubilee, and has therefore been appropriately named the "Jubilee Pot." The chamber in which it was found abutted on the north wall of a large enclosure or yard (11) extending southwards along the street. It was 45 feet long and 26 feet wide. In the south-west corner was a building (12) 23 feet long and 6 feet wide, between which and the street lay the remains of a long hearth.

To the east of House No. 1 is a somewhat perplexing series of foundations, of several dates. The oldest of these represents a detached building or enclosure, measuring internally 58 feet by 30 feet, and forming a considerable angle with the street. This was succeeded by another, of which the main walls were parallel to the older walls, but this building was somewhat larger. It did not occupy quite the same site, and, besides being subdivided longitudinally, it was attached on the north to a prolongation or appendage of a large house lying still further west. Subsequent alterations have somewhat obscured the plan.

House No. 2, to which these buildings seem to have been attached, was of considerable extent. It covered an oblong area, about 85 feet from north to south by 68 feet in width, but part of this was occupied by yards or courts. The western half of the area was taken up by the house proper, which consisted of two parallel ranges of chambers with a projecting wing towards the east at the south end. This part of the house was traversed by a corridor, the western section of which was divided into two chambers. The remainder was carried round the projecting wing and then northwards in front of the main block. The mansion was perhaps entered from the street through the vestibule (1), which was flanked on either side by small chambers of uncertain use. One probably formed the porter's lodge. South of the vestibule was a small court (2), two sides of which were formed by

the corridor (3). From the end of this corridor was an entrance into (4). This seems to have an open space forming the stokehole to a series of hypocausts on the west. On its north side was a store for fuel (5) and two other small chambers (6) and (7) opened out of it on the south. The wall forming the east side of (5) (4) (7) and (8) was of somewhat peculiar construction from the number of brick piers built into it. Chamber 8 had an entrance from the corridor, and may have been the *tablinum* of the house. The three divisions, 9, 10, and 11, appear to have formed one room warmed by a series of hypocausts, to which was afterwards added the semi-circular annex (12). The object of the foundations external to Chambers 13 and 14 is not apparent. They are most likely of the same date as the adjacent apse. Rooms 15 and 16 perhaps formed one large chamber, which may have been the *triclinium*. The room beyond (17) was the only one that retained any traces of flooring in the shape of a patch of small red and white *tesseræ* in its south-east corner.

The arrangements of the house, it will be seen, are not those usually found at Silchester. Attached to the south end of it was a large courtyard (18), with a building in its north-west angle divided into two sections (19) and (20), possibly a stable. Immediately to the east of the courtyard, but in no way parallel to it, is one of the square buildings (Block I.) whose use we have not yet been able to determine.

From the south of House No. 1, as far as the city wall, the trenches did not reveal anything, nor was even a rubbish pit met with, but towards the east the foundations of an interesting house were uncovered. This house, No. 3, from its peculiarities has been dealt with by Mr. Fox, whose account of it here follows:

On House No. 3. Insula XVIII. By George E. Fox, F.S.A.

In contrast to the confused masses of buildings in both *Insulæ* XVII. and XVIII., the comparatively small house, No. 3, in the latter *insula* stands out clearly, and shows a certain feature which marks it out from the common form of small dwellings it otherwise resembles. This house is situated near the south-east corner of *Insula* XVIII., not far from the south gate of the city, and the east wall of the large enclosure attached to it lies upon the main street, 160 feet from that gate. The dwelling consists of the usual range of chambers (1-4), 15 feet 6 inches wide, running roughly north and south, lined on the east side by a corridor (5), 6 feet 6 inches in width and 55 feet in length, originally floored with red tile

tesseræ. The range is divided irregularly into four compartments, the southernmost of which (4) has a width of only 5 feet 9 inches, and contained, in all probability, a stair to an upper floor. Beyond this last division and continuing the range are two more chambers (6) (7) parallel to each other, 24 feet in length, and exceeding by 2 feet the total width of the house. The easternmost and largest of these two chambers has its southern end cut off by a passage (8), 6 feet 6 inches wide, affording a means of communication to both from the yard or enclosure (9) to the east of them. The south end of the corridor of the house, narrowed by 1 foot, continues at right angles eastwards for a short distance, forming a sort of entrance passage to the body of the house from the enclosure just mentioned. This enclosure, standing east and west, gives to the plan of the building the form of a capital letter L. It is 44 feet long by 33 feet wide, but the eastern wall lining the street is not at right angles with the side walls.

So far there is little to remark in the general disposition of the building, but the internal arrangement of this walled space just named is suggestive of the practice of an industry hitherto not noted as carried on in the town. It will be observed, on consulting the plan, that at an average distance of 5 feet from the north and south walls respectively of this area occurs a row of roughly-defined circular blocks, three in each row, at a distance of 5 or 6 feet from each other, the space between the easternmost in each row and the east wall of the enclosure being about 13 feet. These masses are formed of flint rubble from 4 feet to 4 feet 6 inches in diameter, and about 2 feet high. If it be supposed that the enclosure in which they occur was roofed, the natural supposition would be that they were foundations of columns or piers supporting the roof. On reflection, however, this will not appear likely. If the enclosure or building had formed part of a public or private edifice of any consequence, instead of being, as it evidently was, merely an annex to an insignificant dwelling, such columns would have been spaced at equal distances on sleeper walls. If we take it for what it undoubtedly was, a part, possibly an important one, of a humble habitation, then such massive foundations as these would not have been required to support the posts of a roofed area. A block of stone for each post would have sufficed, and would have afforded a better foundation for the purpose than coarse rubble. The height of these rubble bases above the unflagged floor of the enclosure tells also against the idea of their having been intended as foundations for posts.

Perhaps a solution of the question may be found if we consider House No. 3 as that of a miller or baker, or both, and the circular masses of rubble in the enclosure in question as intended for the support of mills or querns, the enclosure

being, in fact, a mill-house, to which possibly a bakery may have been attached, though of this latter there scarcely seems a trace. The floor of the area between and around the bases was cleared for the purpose of searching for evidence of the use to which it had been put, and it is singular that the only object found should be a portion of a quern.

Yet although only one fragment of a quern was found here, a portion of the upper stone of a mill, such as might have ground corn in this enclosure, was dug up two years ago in *Insula* XIV. This mill-stone when perfect had a diameter of 2 feet 4 inches, and a thickness of $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and was of considerable weight, perhaps more than could have been easily turned by one pair of hands.[a]

It is well known that the mills of hour-glass shape, worked generally by asses, so frequently found in the bakers' establishments in Pompeii, had the lower stones, which were cone-shaped, set in circular masses of masonry of no great height.[b] These masses were plastered, and showed a margin all round with a raised edge, and upon this margin the meal fell from between the stones as the corn was ground. Now these bases in the Silchester house, constructed in a similar way to the bases of the mills in Pompeii, although no trace of plastering remains upon them and they are in a ruined state, have much the appearance of the supports of the Pompeian mills. If, however, they were used as such, it is impossible to say that the hour-glass shaped *mola asinaria* was placed upon them, as this form of mill has never as yet been found in Britain, but it is not unlikely that they may have been the supports on which large querns were fixed, querns with stones as large or larger than the one just mentioned, which could be worked by a couple of slaves,

[a] The upper and under surfaces of this stone are parallel, *i.e.* the stone was of the same thickness throughout, and thus unlike the usual form of the ordinary hand querns. The under side is scored, and at the centre there is no sign of a chase for a rind. The centre hole is 4 inches in diameter at the top, contracting somewhat at a depth of 4 inches, and thus forming a hopper, and then again expanding. A small hole just above the line of contraction possibly had to do with the arrangement of the pivot on which this upper stone was poised upon the lower.

The material is a fine white sandstone sparkling when fractured. Fragments of the same material are occasionally met with on the site, and, like the piece in question, always reddened as if by the action of fire. The stone resembles that of which the walls of the station of *Branodunum* at Brancaster, on the north coast of Norfolk, were built, and is known in that neighbourhood as *sugar stone*, from its colour and peculiar fracture. It perhaps comes from the lower greensand, and might have been quarried in the neighbourhood of Aylesbury.

[b] These are described and figured in Richard Bennett and John Elton, *History of Corn Milling* (London, 1898), i. 180.

by means of the simple machinery to be seen in the appended illustration (fig. 1) taken from the rough unfinished reliefs upon the sarcophagus of Annius Octavius Valerianus preserved in the Lateran Museum in Rome. The reliefs on this sarcophagus show the processes, in regular succession, of ploughing the ground for the reception of the grain, reaping the ripened corn, grinding it and baking the bread made from it, the

Fig. 1. Baking bread and grinding corn. From a sarcophagus now in the Lateran Museum in Rome.

grinding being effected by means of a quern of larger dimensions than the ordinary hand-mill, placed upon a base such as is seen in the enclosure of this house at Silchester, and turned by two men. The shaft rising from the quern must have been attached to the upper stone, the transverse bar fastened to it affording the means of giving the necessary rotatory motion; the men, one on each side, walking round and round the quern and its base as sailors walk round a capstan. There is just room to do this between the bases in question in the enclosure of this house at Silchester. There is yet another method by which querns of the size of such as would be placed on these bases could have been worked. It is described by Sir Arthur Mitchell in his work, *The Past in the Present*, and was recently in use in the Shetland islands. He says, "The handle of the quern is of wood, and is fixed in a hole sunk into the upper stone, near its margin. Occasionally, when the quern is of a largish size, the handle is on a different plan: it is much longer, and one end of it lies loosely in a cup or hole, situated like the hole in which the short handle of the smaller quern is fixed, while the other end goes up to the roof of the cottage, and passes loosely through a hole in a joist or rafter. In this way two persons at opposite sides of the quern can easily and safely be engaged together in turning it. A fixed handle long enough to allow two persons to work the quern, would be apt, by its leverage, to break off the bit of the stone outside the hole in

which the handle is fixed."[a] This is a medieval method of working a large quern, but it may quite possibly have been in use in the Roman period not only in Britain but elsewhere.[b]

If we take it, therefore, that the bases placed in this enclosure represent part of a miller's or a baker's establishment, the two chambers, with the passage of communication west of the area, would probably be stores for the unground grain, or for the flour, the product of the mills. Water would naturally be required for a bakery and an oven or ovens. A well to the west of the house, from which two tubs were extracted last season, shows where the former could have been obtained, but there are no traces of the latter, unless a mass of burnt earth and tiles a short distance south of the house may possibly indicate where the ovens stood. This, however, is only a conjecture. It is singular that nothing which could be recognised as a baker's oven has yet been found at Silchester. In fact, no ovens for the baking of bread have as yet been discovered in this country, though the small arched entrances of the furnaces of hypocausts have been mistaken for them. It may be that the bases of masonry occurring now and again in the ruins of Romano-British houses were the substructions of such ovens, but it is also possible that the flour produced by the hand-mills, and formed into cakes of unleavened bread was baked, as it is in the East to this day, on iron plates over a fire made on the ground, like the griddle cakes of Scotland. Small portable ovens of iron or pottery (*clibani*), heated by burning charcoal heaped over them, may also have been used for better kinds of bread in houses of a superior class. It is possible even that a process such as that employed in Afghanistan at the present day may have been in use, for primitive methods have survived all over the eastern world which have long been extinct in the west. For example, ways of heating chambers and of grinding various substances but little differing from Roman methods are still in existence in China and Japan at the present time. The process in Afghanistan, as described in a recent work, is as follows: "In the bread shop (in Cabul) the baker squatting on the floor kneads the dough into large flat cakes and claps it in his oven. The oven is a large clay jar about 3 feet across and 3 feet deep, with the neck a foot in diameter. This is buried beneath the shop, the mouth being level with the floor, and is packed round with earth. It is heated by making a fire inside. When the heat is sufficient, and the fire has burnt out, the baker puts his hand in

[a] Arthur Mitchell, M.D., LL.D., *The Past in the Present: What is Civilisation?* (Edinburgh, 1880), 36.

[b] See a representation of this method of working a quern, though with a slight variation from that described, in an illustration taken from a MS. of the fourteenth century, engraved in *Die Burg Tannenburg und ihre Ausgrabungen*, by Dr. J. von Hefner and Dr. J. W. Wolf. 1850. Pl. xi.

the mouth and flaps the flat doughy cake against the wall of the oven, where it sticks. When baked it generally brings away some grains of charcoal or grit with it."[a] From time to time fragments of pots sunk in the floors of what were subordinate chambers in the houses at Silchester have been occasionally found, and some of these might have been used as ovens in the manner described. The ordinary *dolium*, with a section of the top cut off, would have answered this purpose. But of this we cannot be sure, as vessels sunk in floors might be employed for very various purposes.

Some few words of description may here be given of the querns found at Silchester. The fragments of these dug up all over the site are by no means as great in quantity as might be supposed from the size of the town, but this may probably be accounted for by the fact of the continued use of hand-mills during the Middle Ages. Perfect stones would be sure to be carried off in the gradual clearing of the area of the city, and broken ones could be employed with other material for building purposes. What we now find come generally from pits where they have been thrown, when damaged, in Roman times. Smaller fragments are occasionally turned up in the surface trenches. The form of these stones is invariably the same, viz. that of circular discs, the under stone slightly convex, the upper as slightly concave, occasionally having striations on the grinding surfaces for the better trituration of the grain between them. The upper stone was turned on the lower by means of a handle, which appears to have been either inserted in the side so as to project horizontally, or perpendicularly on the top near the outer edge. In all probability the handle in most instances in the smaller querns, such as those with which we are now dealing, was fixed in the fashion shown in fig. 2, but the remains of upper stones are for the most part too fragmentary to ascertain this fact with exactness. A hole of varying diameter occurs in the centre of this stone in which a plug, possibly of wood, was firmly fixed. A socket in this received the head of the pivot on which the stone worked. The pivot itself was strongly set in a corresponding hole in the under stone, which is usually perforated, although occasionally this is not the case. Apertures allowing the passage of the grain between the stones were made in the plug of the upper stone, or this plug only

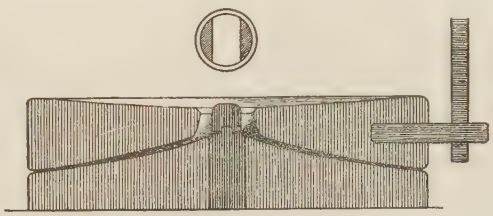


Fig. 2. Section of a Roman hand-quern from stones found at Silchester. ($\frac{1}{8}$ linear.)

[a] See *At the Court of the Amir*. A narrative by John Alfred Gray, M.B. London, late surgeon to H.H. the Amir of Afghanistan.

crossed the centre of the hole in which it was fixed, having apertures on either side of it, the mill being fed by means of these cavities. Occasionally the top surface of the upper stone is dished so that the grain deposited on it slipped towards the central hole. One stone found had a saucer-shaped depression round this aperture serving as a hopper. The quern was probably bedded in the floor of the chamber in which it was used, the slave using it squatting behind it, as is the practice to this day in the East. It may be remembered that a quern was discovered in one corner of Block V., *Insula* X., and that it was bedded in clay on the floor, and burnt wood was found about it. This may have been the remains of a wooden planking fitted round the hand-mill to receive the meal or other substance which in the act of grinding fell from between the stones. Whether the Roman querns were ever placed on a table or had any contrivance for raising or lowering the top stones so as to grind coarse or fine as is still practised, or was so till lately, in the Shetland islands, where querns are still in use, we have no means of judging.[a] So few instances are known of these hand-mills being found in position that we can come to no definite conclusion on the subject.

Querns were still in use in the south of Ireland fifty years ago, and were constructed in the manner described above, though they differed somewhat in the form of the stones from the Romano-British querns.[b] Fig. 3 will explain the section of one of these mills.

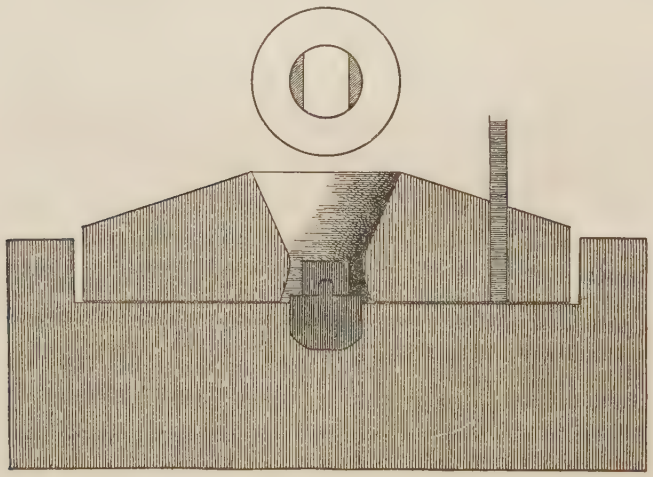


Fig. 3. Section of an Irish hand-mill. ($\frac{1}{8}$ linear.)

The materials of the Silchester querns vary, but with one exception it would appear that they were formed from native rock. Of fourteen fragments submitted for examination to competent authorities, five were possibly from the sandstones of the coal-measures or millstone grit, one was of old red sandstone, three others of

[a] See the work previously cited, *The Past in the Present*, where on page 37 a sectional diagram of a quern showing all its fittings may be seen.

[b] For an account of an Irish hand-mill, presented by the Kilkenny Archæological Society to the Archæological Institute in the year 1850, see *Archæological Journal*, vii. 393-4, with an illustration and section to scale.

old red sandstone or carboniferous (from rocks similar to those found in many parts of South Wales, Monmouthshire, Gloucestershire, or Somerset), and two were of old red conglomerate, such as occurs in the Forest of Dean, in Monmouthshire, and on the Mendip Hills. The remaining three could not be assigned to any particular formation.[a]

The sole exception to the native materials is to be seen in the querns formed from lava quarried at Andernach on the Rhine, which seem to have been imported in considerable quantities into Britain in the Roman time. Mr. Herbert Jones, who has had ample opportunities while conducting the excavations at Silchester of judging of the number and proportions of the fragments of querns turned up from the pits and trenches, judges that the proportion of such fragments of hand-mills of the foreign material are about one-fourth of the whole discovered hitherto. In the better houses of the town no doubt the Andernach querns would have been preferred as being made from stone of a more compact and harder texture than any quarried in this country.

The late Professor Buckman, of the Agricultural College at Cirencester, has published a list[b] of the rocks from which the Roman querns that had come under his notice at Corinium and elsewhere were made. The list gives all the rocks out of which the Silchester mill-stones have been formed, and others besides, but all from native formations, with the one exception just named.

Not only have Romano-British querns been discovered made from the rocks mentioned, but Professor Buckman also reports the finding of hand-mill stones, roughly shaped, in a district in which they were probably quarried. He says, "In going over a friend's estate in the parish of Saint Briavell, a part of the Forest of Dean district, I had the good fortune to find several roughly hewn discoid stones of the old-red-sandstone conglomerate. These stones approached the shape of the finished querns of the same material, of which I have obtained no fewer than nine at Corinium. The diameter of these roughly hewn discs was usually about 20 inches, whilst that of all my finished examples is about 15 inches. From these facts then, I conclude that the rough discs are the initiatives—the first stage in the preparation of the quern, and that they were probably rough hewn, as the stones were chosen from the rock as it crops out at the surface, just as I have seen stones

[a] For these particulars we are indebted to the kindness of Mr. Horace B. Woodward and Mr. A. Strahan, M.A., of the Geological Survey Office.

[b] In a paper on "The Materials of Roman Querns," in *The Wiltshire Archæological and Natural History Magazine*, ix. 291-294.

for various purposes hewn into different shapes on the granite tors of Cornwall, ready to be transferred elsewhere for a higher finish."[a]

Other instances of such finds of roughed-out cylindrical stones are known and might be cited.

The size of the querns dug up at Silchester varies. Such fragments as are sufficiently perfect to allow of accurate measurement indicate diameters varying from 13 to 19 inches. None yet unearthed, with the notable exception already mentioned, reaches 2 feet in diameter, or such a size as would require the strength of more than one pair of hands to work it. Yet mills such as those which may have been employed in the enclosure of House No. 3, *Insula* XVIII., must have had larger diameters than any of the hand-mills just mentioned, and that such existed in Roman Britain is certain. In the Romano-British village on Woodcuts Common, Dorset, the top stone of a quern was found measuring 2 feet 3 inches across,[b] and a still larger one about 2 feet 6 inches across was dug up in the Roman villa at Tockington Park, Gloucestershire.[c] An iron pivot, part of a hoard of iron implements of the Roman period found at Great Chesterford in Essex, and believed on good authority to be the pivot of a mill-stone, would imply from its size the use of mill-stones larger than any yet reported to have been discovered.[d]

It is possible that further finds at Silchester may throw more light on the trade of the miller and the baker, of which at present, as far as concerns Roman Britain, we know little or nothing. As yet the only evidence obtained implies that each family ground its own corn and baked a supply of bread, or rather flat cakes, for its own consumption day by day.

We have now completed the description of the remains of the buildings, and a few words are necessary concerning the principal objects discovered during the excavations.

The architectural remains are but few in number. They include a fragment of a large Corinthian capital, probably from the *basilica*, part of the moulded cornice and of the base of a square pedestal, and piece of a large stone ball. To these may be added part of a terra-cotta antefix, of the same pattern as a similar

[a] *The Wiltshire Archæological and Natural History Magazine*, ix. 293.

[b] *See* Lieut.-General Pitt Rivers, *Excavations in Cranborne Chase, near Rushmore, on the borders of Dorset and Wilts* (1887), i. pl. l. fig. 4. For a complete quern 2 feet in diameter, found at Poole, Dorset, now in the British Museum, see Bennett and Elton, *History of Corn Milling*, i. 182, 183.

[c] *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society*, xiii. 197.

[d] *Archæological Journal*, xiii. pl. 3, fig. 28.

SILCHESTER.—BARRELS FOUND IN WELLS IN INSULÆ XVII. AND XVIII.

(*From a photograph by* Mr. Victor White, *of Reading.*)

piece found in 1892 near the *forum* and *basilica*,[a] and portions of three inscribed tiles described below.

The most prominent objects discovered in 1897 are two wooden tubs or barrels from a well in *Insula* XVIII., and another from a well in *Insula* XVII. (Plate VIII.) It will be remembered that, in our account of the excavations in 1895, mention was made of a well in *Insula* XIV. which contained two tubs, one above the other,[b] but it collapsed before either could be extracted. The well in *Insula* XVIII. was only 18 feet deep, and it was possible to recover both barrels. The upper one is unfortunately much decayed, probably because it was not so constantly under water as the lower barrel, and the portion that is left is reduced to 4 feet 6 inches in height. There can be little doubt that it was once as large as its fellow. This is fairly perfect, and measures 6 feet $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height and 2 feet 10 inches in diameter, externally, narrowing to 2 feet $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches at either end. It is composed of nineteen staves, of fir or some such wood, varying in width at the centre from $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches to 6 inches. The two ends were of course removed when the tub was sunk in the well, but grooves for them remain. On one side is a bung-hole, 2 inches in diameter, cut in two staves, and beside it a $\frac{1}{2}$-inch vent-peg hole.

The well in *Insula* XVII.,[c] in which the other tub was found, appeared at first to be lined at the bottom with the usual timber framing, but the clearing out of this revealed beneath it the very fine tub here exhibited. This is the first time we have found a well containing the tub and timber framing in combination. Owing to the exceptional preservation of the tub and the fact that it still retained the hazel bands at intervals that held the staves together, it was determined, if possible, to draw it to the surface with the bands intact. These were accordingly protected beforehand with strips of calico. Unfortunately the constant inflow of the water and the continual caving in of the sides of the well, through the collapse of the sandy stratum into which it was sunk, made the work so difficult and dangerous that after several days' labour the task was abandoned. The bands, which were in a very decayed state, had therefore to be sacrificed, and the tub extracted stave by stave. With one exception these were all sound as well as whole, and have been carefully put together by Mr. Mill Stephenson in the same order as found. The tub, like the others, is made of fir, and was composed of eighteen staves, 6 feet $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, varying in width from $4\frac{5}{8}$ inches to

[a] *Archaeologia*, liii. 561, fig. 3.

[b] *Ibid.* lv. 245.

[c] This well had the following section: soil, 2 feet; gravel, 6 feet; marly sand, 7 feet; in all, 15 feet. Below this was the usual bed of clay.

$6\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The external diameter in the middle is 2 feet 9 inches, narrowing to 2 feet 3 inches at the ends. There is a 2-inch bung-hole on one side, cut in two staves, and beside it a $\frac{1}{2}$-inch vent-peg hole. Only one extremity of the staves is grooved inside for the insertion of the end.

The interesting feature about this tub is the occurrence, on all the staves save one, of a series of rudely scratched Roman characters. Concerning these and some marks on the other tubs and on the three tiles Mr. F. Haverfield, M.A., F.S.A., has kindly communicated the following notes:

Three inscribed wooden tubs, forming parts of tub-wells, were found at Silchester last year (1897). I was able to examine them soon after their discovery, and a second time in the Society's apartments, and I append here my readings.

(1) One tub, in almost perfect preservation, consists of eighteen boards. On each board but one, a letter (in one case two letters), generally about four inches high, has been rudely scratched about halfway down the outside, *i.e.* round the belly of the tub. These letters are at right angles to the length of the boards; that is, when the tub is standing upright the letters are on one side, and when the tub is lying down the letters are in the natural upright position. They are not, however, all placed the same way up with respect to each other, as Nos. iv. viii. and xiv. are topsy-turvy to the rest. In the order of the boards they are as follows:

i.	CA and a small A	vii.	K	xiii.	I
ii.	K (? T or L)	viii.	II or I' (? F)	xiv.	D
iii.	R	ix.	C	xv.	Ϛ (? G or C)
iv.	Q	x.	L	xvi.	O
v.[a]	M	xi.	II (= E)	xvii.	S
vi.	N	xii.	P	xviii.	Blank[b]

As they stand, they give no obvious sense, and the fact that they are not all placed the same way up suggests that they are now out of order, whatever their original intention. It is possible that when the boards were first made an A B C was scratched on them, and that we have here *disiecti membra alphabeti*, put together in the wrong order and with omissions. It is also possible that the letters on boards x.—xvii. should be interpreted *Lepid(o)cos*, the conclusion of a date given by consulships in the usual way. The Imperial Fasti provide no suitable instance of a junior consul Lepidus to whom we might refer this hypothetical Lepidus, but a British inscription (C. vii. 287) mentions an otherwise unknown pair, Censor and Lepidus, who were possibly consuls of Postumus in his Gallic Empire (A.D. 258-267). On this hypothesis the boards of our tub would have been inscribed about the middle of the third century. But I must observe that the first part of the letters, on boards i.—x., cannot be made to suit any name. Further, the fact that in *Lepid* the P and the D are written two different ways, the one being

[a] This board has had since to be replaced by a modern substitute.

[b] The variations in the size of the letters as printed above are due to typographical needs, and do not show the relative sizes of the original letters, which are indeed fairly uniform.

topsy-turvy to the other on the boards, suggests that *Lepidcos* may be a mere coincidence. I am inclined, therefore, to prefer the alphabetic explanation. It would be rash to date such lettering, but a few faint indications, for instance, P with the semicircle not complete, P not P, would agree with a date much earlier than 250 A.D.

On the other side of board vii. are two small letters DO, perhaps stamped. I cannot assign any special sense to them. On the front of i. near the bunghole are, stamped small, GI, perhaps the end of a name.

(2) Another less perfectly preserved tub has a small inscription of $1\frac{3}{8}$ inch letters scratched on the outside near the bottom on two adjacent boards, beginning on the one board and ending on the other. These letters seem to be (though the fourth is indistinct)

SVAIKINOS *Sualinos.*

This is probably a Celtic name. It does not occur elsewhere, so far as I can ascertain, but *Catusualis*, the name of a potter found on 'Samian' ware in Britain and abroad, contains the chief part of it. *Sualis* is interpreted by Celtic scholars to mean 'very agreeable.' The ending *os* is the usual Celtic form for the nominative masculine singular, and corresponds to the *-us* of the Latin second declension.[a] Its appearance on this tub shows that Celtic was spoken, or at least not unknown, at the place and time where and when the letters were scratched on the tub.

(3) A third almost perfect tub, which, like No. 1, is about six feet high, has the letters AR stamped in small size on two boards close to the bunghole.

Three incised tiles have been found in 1897 at Silchester. All are unfortunately imperfect. They are as follows:

(1)]MARI probably the end of a Celtic name terminating in *-mārus*, as many Celtic names did.

(2) S FECIT
RIONUS

Here *fecit* and *unus* (or *onus*) are clear; the other letters probably gave the name of the inscriber, of which or of his description *unus* (or *onus*) no doubt formed part. The uncial U for V is perhaps worth noting, though common enough.

3) I cannot decipher the third fragment satisfactorily; it has only two or three letters.

Further examination of the question as to why the Silchester wells have timber framing or wooden barrels at the bottom shows that such constructions were used for the purpose of holding up the stratum of sand into which the wells are sunk.[b] This stratum, which is not in the least consolidated, is charged with water, and,

[a] *See* Holder's *Sprachschatz*, 863; *Bonner Jahrbücher*, lxxxix. 8; D'Arbois de Jubainville, *Noms gaulois chez César*, 23. I have also consulted Professor Rhys about the name.

[b] Mr. Haverfield informs us that Roman wells were sometimes constructed in Italy with earthenware cylinders, from 2 to 3 feet high, placed one above the other, like the barrels at Silchester. There is such a well at Ostia, and there are cylinders from others in the Communal Museum on the Cælian Hill at Rome.

except after a long spell of dry weather, has a natural tendency to become more or less fluid. Where the stratum is thin, a wooden framing of three or four courses sufficed, but for a greater thickness one barrel, and sometimes a second, was lowered into the well, or the wooden framing was carried up higher, and thus formed a reservoir into which the sand-filtered water rose. Experience has shown us that if the sandy layer is not reached or not allowed to collapse the thick gravel bed above through which the well is sunk will generally stand by itself without any support, and this helps to explain why so few of the Silchester wells show any remains of a continuous steining.

The barrels, as shown by the bung- and vent-peg holes, have certainly been used for some other purpose before being sunk in the wells, probably for storing oil or wine, for their length and size seem to preclude the possibility of their having been transported full of liquid.

The finds in bronze, iron, and bone are of the usual character. Among the bronze articles are two good enamelled brooches, one of which has a cruciform device on a ground of blue and green enamel (fig. 3), a brooch with a sliding ring

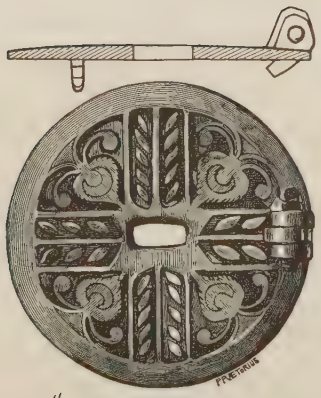


Fig. 3. Bronze Brooch, with green and blue enamel, found at Silchester, 1897. ½

Fig. 5. Bronze socketed Staff-head (?) found at Silchester, 1897. ½

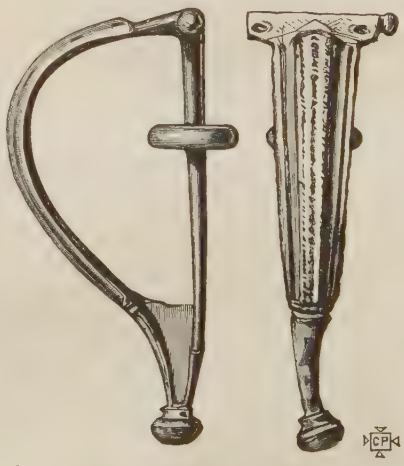


Fig. 4. Bronze Brooch, with sliding ring, found at Silchester, 1897. ½

on the pin (fig. 4), several chains, and a curious socketed object surmounted by the head of an eagle (fig. 5), perhaps to fit on a staff. The finds in bone and glass were unimportant. The pottery, too, calls for no special remark.

It will be seen that the year's work was somewhat unproductive in minor objects, but the interest of the buildings uncovered is fully up to the average, and reference to the general plan (figs. 6 and 7) will show that the two new *insulæ* form a substantial addition to it. It will also be seen that they are the first that are crossed by a continuous series of buildings.

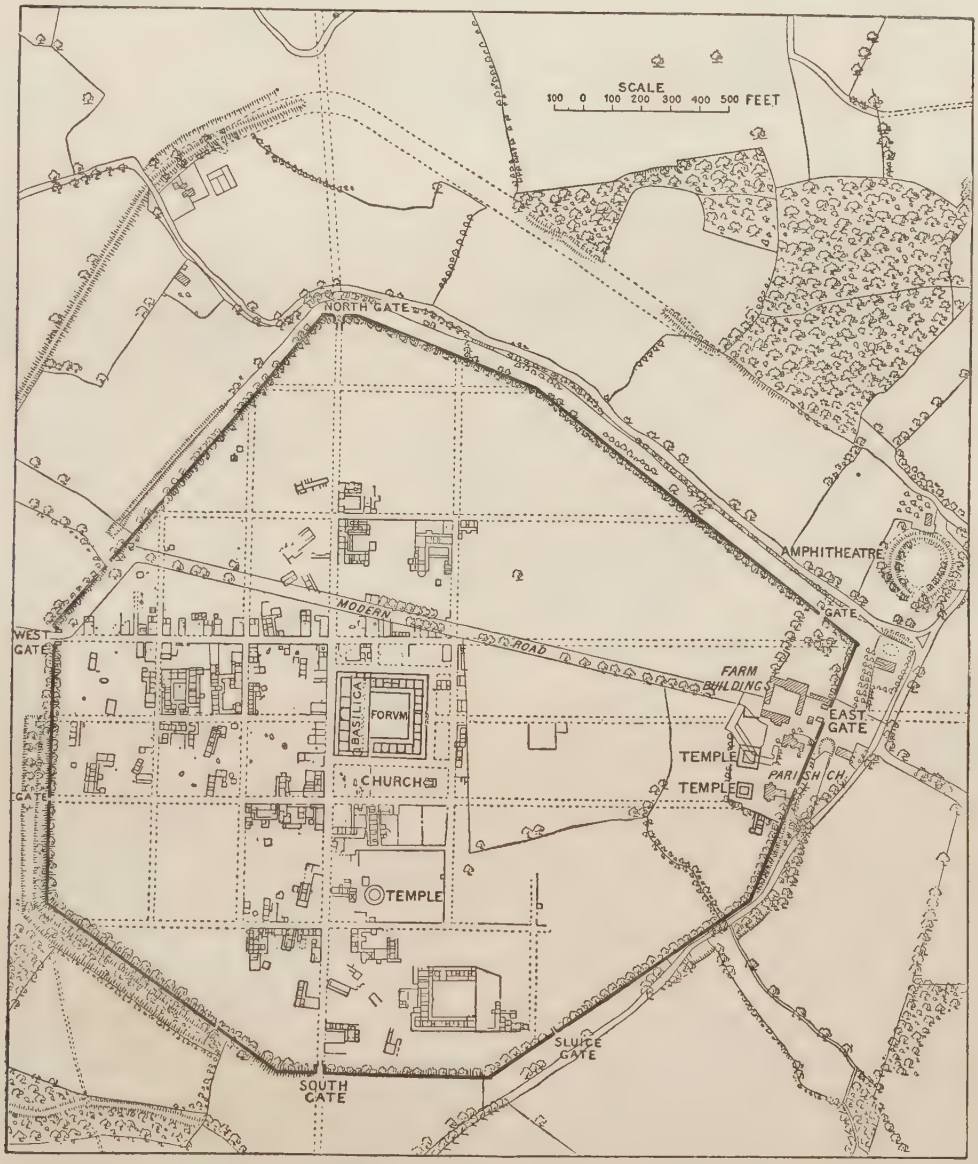


Fig. 6. Ground plan of Silchester, showing all buildings excavated down to October, 1897.[a]

[a] This illustration, which has been recently made for the new edition of Murray's Handbook for Hants, has been kindly lent by Mr A. H. Hallam Murray, M.A., F.S.A.

The accompanying block-plan (fig. 7) shows the progress made up to the present in the excavation of the city.

Fig. 7. Block-plan of Silchester, showing portions excavated down to the end of 1897.

IX.—*On a Lawsuit concerning the Lady Elizabeth Stuart's Jewels.*
By W. J. Hardy, *Esq., F.S.A.*

Read May 5th, 1898.

There attaches to the history of the Princess Elizabeth, daughter of Charles I., a melancholy interest that cannot fail to awaken sympathy, even in those unsympathetic individuals who feel none for the family to which she belonged; for that reason anything which brings before us incidents in her life is, I think, worthy of record.

Some proceedings in the Court of Exchequer, taken towards the close of Cromwell's rule in England, do this; and so it may be of interest to the Society to say something about them.

As will be remembered, the Princess Elizabeth and her brother Henry, Duke of Gloucester, were for a time in the care of the Earl and Countess of Leicester at Penshurst. Whilst in their keeping the princess placed in the earl's care the only jewels she possessed, a diamond ornament and a pearl necklace; and before leaving she desired that, after her death, the countess should possess the former and her sister Mary the latter. These facts are of course well known, and are carefully narrated by the late Mrs. Everett-Green, in her *Lives of the Princesses*, the whole circumstances of the Commonwealth's claim to these, and of the earl's answer to it, being there set out. The story is carried down by Mrs. Green to 1651, or thereabouts; and what I am about to speak of to-night is really a later chapter in that story, in which we find personal particulars of the princess, her brother Henry, and of those with whom they resided at Penshurst.

In Trinity Term, 1657, Cromwell's Attorney-General (at the relation of Richard Pight, gentleman, "surveyor of the melting-house in his highness's mint in the Tower of London," Edmund Berriman, and Elizabeth Leeds, widow) informed the Court of Exchequer that by two Acts of Parliament, one of the 26th June, 1649, and the other of 1651, the property of the late king and queen, and the princes and princesses, was forfeited, and was to be sold; that King Charles and his queen, and the Lady Elizabeth, their daughter, since her father's decease, were possessed, or one of them was possessed, of "one rich jewel, set with many

fair and rich diamonds, to the value of £2,000 at the least, and of one necklace of pearl worth £800, and of divers other jewels to the value of £2,000 more, which were of old belonging to the Crown, and not to the persons of the said king, queen, or lady," nor rightfully disposable by them. That the said Lady Elizabeth used the said several jewels "for the adorning of her person," and about six years since, after the death of the king (being under the custody of Robert, Earl of Leicester, and Dame Dorothy his wife), continued the possession and use of those jewels till her death, which happened in September, 1650. That after her death, the said earl and countess, knowing the jewels to be the property of the State, and since of the Protector, "did privately possess themselves" of all the said jewels, and have either disposed of them to their own great and private profit, or refuse to discover their whereabouts, and pretend and give out that the Lady Elizabeth disposed of the jewels to them, and have obtained Letters of Administration of the estate of the said lady, and so, as they suppose, are entitled to the said jewels. The Attorney-General argues that any such Letters of Administration must be void in law. He therefore prays for a full and perfect discovery, etc.

The answer of the Earl of Leicester is dated the 28th of January, 1657. He admits that the Lady Elizabeth was possessed of a necklace of pearl, given her by the king and queen, and permitted to be worn as an ornament, and of a diamond jewel set with four fair diamonds, and several [small?] diamonds about it. This he believed was given to the said Lady Elizabeth by the Prince of Orange when he was in England, and so never belonged to the Crown. He did not believe it to be of half the value named. The princess usually wore it for adornment, and about June, 1649, Parliament ordered her and her brother to the care of the Countess of Leicester. Accordingly the Earl of Northumberland (in whose care they had been) brought them to this defendant's house, in the parish of St. Martin, in the county of Middlesex, and gave them in charge of the countess, his wife.

In order, perhaps, to answer the charge of having unduly influenced the girl to make the gift to his wife, the earl states that he gave the countess an allowance, and never interfered with the "lady" and "duke," but "only paid them that civility which was due unto their quality when they were in his family," and he went on to say that he would "very much scorne" to take, "by unworthy means," any jewels or pearls of the king, queen, their children, or any other person!

He then continues his narrative: By order of the 29th of July, 1650, the lady and her brother were delivered by the defendant and his wife to Mr. Anthony Mildmay and his wife, who were appointed to receive them and wait on them to Carisbrook Castle; but before leaving the Lady Elizabeth, "peradventure thinking that whatsoever she should leave in the hands of this defendant would be as safe as

in any other place," sent to this defendant the necklace and jewel, with a letter which ran:

"I desire that your lordship will be pleased to take into your care and custody my necklace of pearl and my diamond jewel until such time as I shall, by a letter or some other sure token, desire your lordship to return them to me."

Shortly after writing this she came to the defendant signifying how she would have them disposed of, and saying, amongst other, these words: "And if I die, my desire is that my sister the Princess of Orange shall have my necklace of pearl, and the Countess of Leicester my diamond jewell." Whereupon the earl asked: "Madam, is this your will and pleasure?" She answered: "It is, my lord, and it is my desire that it should be performed."

The earl then went on to say that he believed the lady thought then she would not live long; so that soon after, whilst she remained in his house, she said, as he was informed, to some of his children, "You will shortly hear that I am dead." And afterwards, about the 19th of August, 1650, the Lady Elizabeth being at Carisbrook, a little before the sickness whereof she died, wrote to him another letter, in these words:

"My Lord, the great esteme I have of the favour of your lordship makes me desirous to continue in your memory, and not having any merit in myself to effect it, I make use of this means, which is the only way I have left me; therefore I beseech your lordship to bear with all this trouble, considering that it comes from one that would think fortune favoured her if I (*sic*) could in some way be serviceable to you as far as might prove my sincere being your lordships' most faithful friend and affectionate servant,—Elizabeth."

The earl points out that in this letter the princess does not refer to the necklace or jewel, but thinking (as he believed) her former declaration and direction were sufficient, and that she intended the diamond should remain to his wife, "peradventure as a memorial of her (the princess's) favour and of the respect and services which she had received whilst she was at their house, from which she parted not without shedding many tears." The earl then continues that, in September, 1650, lying on her death-bed (as he believes) the princess declared and confirmed her will to be as formerly concerning her diamond, but she desired that the Duke of Gloucester (instead of her sister) should have the necklace or its value, because, as she said, she thought he would have more need of it than her said sister. The earl then states that the princess died at Carisbrook in September, 1650, and recites the proceedings relative to the jewels taken before the Committee of Parliament in 1651.

There are many interesting details in the proceedings so far that are not, I

believe, elsewhere recorded, and the earl now proceeds to speak of events subsequent to 1651. In 1656 certain persons, pretending to be creditors of the late king and queen, sued him before the Commissioners for Probate endeavouring to overthrow the will, but were thence dismissed. He confesses he still has the diamond, and asserts that no one can lawfully claim it, and he conceives that he should be preferred before any creditor of the late king; the said king being indebted to him in a large sum expended by him as ambassador to France. He goes on to point out that within the time limited by the Act he gave notice to the trustees that the prince and princess left with his wife a jewel called a George, given to the said duke by the said late king, as the defendant believed, which his said wife delivered to the trustees; a book which the duke gave this defendant in exchange for other books; a small brass gun, and another light gun which the defendant did not at first know of, but afterwards heard of, which guns were duly given up to the trustees; a little nagg and saddle which were sent after the said duke to the Isle of Wight; a setting-bitch, which died soon after, and a parrot in a cage. The defendant had heard there were some other things of small value belonging to the lady Elizabeth when at his house, but none came to his custody.

By order of the Committee of Revenue, dated in June, 1649, some beds and wardrobe-stuff, and linen and plate were appointed to be delivered to the defendant with the prince and princess; all these things were given up by Lady Leicester to Mildmay at Penshurst when she took away the children, and the defendant did not believe there was in his house or in the custody of his wife, "so much as a spoon of the said plate, or a cushion of the wardrobe-stuff."

The answer of the countess is sworn at Penshurst on the 5th day of March, 1657;[a] she says that the Lady Elizabeth gave her the jewel to keep for her and "after she was out of her great mourning she did wear the necklace of pearl," and had it when she went from Penshurst. As for other jewels, if the princess had any, they were so inconsiderable that they were never delivered to the defendant's care. A George belonging to the Duke of Gloucester (which was once in the defendant's custody) was delivered to the trustees. The countess, like her husband, asserted that Elizabeth's diamond jewel was given to her by the Prince of Orange, and so she, the princess, might dispose of it as she pleased; therefore she, the defendant, took it. The countess also said that the earl, her husband, had the jewel and necklace by delivery of Elizabeth, etc.

The most interesting deponents in the suit are two of the earl's many daughters, Dorothy (Waller's "Sacharissa") the widowed Countess of Sunder-

[a] Her death is generally stated to have taken place at a much earlier date.

land, and Lady Ann Sidney, who is said to have married Carte, a "divine." Their depositions are taken at Penshurst on the 22rd of October, 1658. "Sacharissa" testifies to the prince and princess being brought to her father's house in London, Leicester House, and there delivered to the care of her mother. They continued at Penshurst for a year and upwards, and she says that "every day and many hours every day" she was in the chamber of the princess and in her company; Elizabeth, she continued, possessed a diamond jewel which, she told the deponent, was given her by the Prince of Orange, and a necklace of pearl, which the deponent heard was given her by the queen. Elizabeth often wore the necklace, and told the deponent these jewels were her own. The story of the earl's custody of the jewels is then related in minute detail: When Elizabeth heard of the order for her removal to Carisbrook she begged Lady Sunderland to go to her father and desire, from her, that he would receive the jewels, "lay them up," and that, in the event of her death, he would give the diamond to the countess and the pearls to the Princess of Orange. Lady Sunderland tells us that she took this message, and that her father desired to be "excused" the charge, whereupon Elizabeth begged her to go again to him and "entreat" him to comply with the request. The earl thus pressed consented to receive the jewels if the princess would write her request. Lady Sunderland then returned to the princess and told her this, whereupon the princess said she would write the letter as suggested, and afterwards told the deponent she had done so. The letter then produced to her was, says Lady Sunderland, written in the princess' handwriting, which she knew well as she had had many letters from her. After this the earl came to the princess and asked her if it was her will as she had written, and she replied that it was.

Lady Ann Sidney's deposition is also of interest; like her sister, she had been daily and many hours each day with the princess during her sojourn at Penshurst, "except," she adds, "when she, the deponent, was sick." Like the Countess of Sunderland she knew Elizabeth's handwriting well for she had had many letters from her after her removal to the Isle of Wight. She then states that when in August, 1650, news reached Penshurst of the intended removal of Elizabeth, one of the deponent's sisters lay "very sick of a consumption and like to live but a very little time longer." This would probably be either Mary or Diana, who are stated in various peerages to have died young. The subject was talked over in the princess's presence, and the princess said to the deponent, "You will hear, also, of my death within a month," and she then expressed much grief at leaving Penshurst.

Other witnesses furnish some additional information about the princess and her brother. Thomas France, gentleman, thirty years of age, clerk-of-the-kitchen at Penshurst, testifies to the removal of the prince's and princess's goods after their departure, plate, bedding, etc. John France, aged thirty-five, one of the grooms-of-the-stable at Penshurst, deposes to the removal of the duke's "nagg" to the Isle of Wight. Whilst James Minche, one of the earl's servants, states that the duke gave his setting-bitch to the Earl of Leicester, but that it soon died.

A later deposition was taken at Dublin on 15th November, 1658. It is that of James Burniston, Esq., then aged forty, who was servant to the princess at the time of her death, and had been her servant for several years before, having delivered the two royal children into the hands of the Countess of Leicester. He knew of the diamond ornament, and that the princess already possessed it in 1647, and had often heard her say it was a gift to her by the Prince of Orange. Its value, he believed, was a tenth of that attributed to it in the attorney-general's information. He had often seen the princess wear the necklace.

As to the letter purporting to have been written by the princess at the end of July or the beginning of August, 1650, he says that she sent for him, and showed him a letter in her own handwriting directed to the Earl of Leicester. The paper shown to him was a true copy of that letter. The princess caused the letter to be sealed up, and gave it to him with the diamond jewel and necklace, and bid him immediately wait upon the earl with them, which he did. Asked as to the expressions of sorrow with which the princess parted from Penshurst, he gives us this interesting account: She told him, and other her servants, that she understood she and her brother were to be removed to the Isle of Wight "very suddenly," and, she added, that she believed this would "suddenly occasion her death." The deponent continues: "At her departure from Penshurst, being then to go to Carisbrook Castle, she did express much sorrow and unwillingness to leave the Countess of Leicester and her family, and held the said Countess of Leicester so fast about the neck, that she was pulled away by force to be carried to the coach." He was present at the scene.

I have endeavoured to find the final judgment of the Court of Exchequer in this interesting dispute, but have failed to do so, though I find one short order dated 1st February, 1658[9], directing the publication of the depositions, and that the cause be set down in the general bill of causes, except cause be shown to the contrary before the end of that term.[a]

[a] Exchequer Decrees and Orders, Series III. vol. 38, p. 263.

X.—*Iron Casting in the Weald.* *By* J. Starkie Gardner, *Esq.*

Read 12th May, 1898.

That iron could be melted and cast in moulds like other metals appears to have been known to the ancient Greeks, and it is not improbable that other nations of antiquity also became from time to time aware of the property; especially if it is the fact that primitive furnaces were sometimes constructed on exposed hillsides where the winds of heaven performed the function of bellows. Philosophers in all ages must have suspected, if indeed they did not absolutely know, that iron obeyed the universal law, melting as other metals do, but under a more intense heat. The absence of iron-casting in medieval times may be ascribed to the primitive hearths in general use, which were incapable of heating the ore to the melting point, while, no real demand existing, the iron-masters were never stimulated to furnish a supply.

Fig. 1. Part of a cast-iron graveslab in Burwash church, Sussex.

The date of the rediscovery of the process of iron-casting in medieval times is

not, and probably never can be, accurately known. History is silent, and the date can only be inferred from castings that chance has haply preserved.

There is a well-known grave-slab in Burwash church, Sussex, of cast-iron (fig. 1), which bears towards the centre of an otherwise plain ground a cross and the inscription

ORATE P ANNEMA JHONE COLINS[a]

The inscription is in Lombardic letters, and owing to this and to the design of the cross the slab has been generally regarded as a work of the fourteenth century. Its claim to be the oldest specimen of medieval cast-iron existing is not disputed, and thus it appears to afford sure ground for the belief that the art of iron-casting was invented in Sussex. It is strange that no such claim has been put forward, and that the statement by Percy that Siegen in Prussia was the seat of the discovery, where casting was not practised until the fifteenth century, has passed unchallenged.

Now it appears quite unlikely that the process of casting in iron was invented for the purpose of founding grave-slabs, which were neither smooth in texture nor beautiful in colour; in fact, so little were they appreciated that almost two centuries seem to have elapsed before the experiment was repeated. Necessity was more probably the mother of the invention; and a real and urgent need for castings in iron arose upon the introduction of cannon. We can thus scarcely do wrong in assuming that the invention followed hard upon that of artillery. Like many other discoveries, this is attributed to China; the tradition finding expression in the Lusiad:

> "Here ere the cannons' rage in Europe roared,
> The cannons' thunder on the foe was poured."

But if its destructive effect was really witnessed by Europeans for the first time in the far east, it made no such vivid impression as the Greek Fire did upon the Crusaders. As a fact, nothing trustworthy as to the first invention or introduction of cannon into Europe is known, but its earliest recorded use is by the English, who appeared to have employed it in the invasion of Scotland under Edward III. in 1327, at the siege of Cambray 1338, and at Tournay a year later. At Quesnoy, 1339-40, Edward's engines, with powder and wildfire, are noticed in the French *Chronicle of London*. It is only in the latter year that the Moors are

[a] *See* M. A. Lower on the "Iron Works of the County of Sussex," in *Sussex Archæological Collections*, ii. 178. Mr. Lower suggested that the memorial was to a member of the Collins family of ironfounders, subsequently seated at Socknersh, in the adjacent parish of Brightling.

heard of in connection with cannon, when the Sultans of Fez and Granada brought it on the field of battle for the first time; an example followed six years later by Edward at Cressy.

The Moorish ordnance is described as being constructed of longitudinal wrought-iron bars, bound by transverse hoops. The guns used by Edward were outwardly of similar construction, but about the oldest English guns now extant show the very remarkable addition of cast-iron inner chambers. Two early and interesting specimens exhibiting this peculiarity were found in the Sussex iron district; and, as coals are not carried to Newcastle, we must believe that they were Sussex productions. The oldest cannon in the Rotunda at Woolwich, brought from Battle Abbey, is traditionally believed to have been taken from the moat of Bodiam Castle, which, like Battle itself, is in the heart of the iron country. This gun, capable of throwing stone balls of 160 lbs. weight, is a breach-loading mortar, such as were used in sieges early in the fifteenth century, as in that of Rouen in 1423. It is officially described in the catalogue of the Museum of Artillery as "at least as old as the earlier part of the fifteenth century. The interior is of cast-iron, and probably one of the earliest known specimens of iron in that form."

Another remarkably ancient gun stood on Eridge Green, in the parish of Frant, in the midst of some of the chief iron foundries in Sussex, and is described in *Archaeologia*.[a] It possesses a polygonal cast-iron chamber, and if not, as tradition has it, the first cannon produced in England, is at least one of the earliest examples remaining. These guns afford positive evidence that casting was not merely in the air in Sussex, quite at the beginning of the fifteenth century, but had progressed from the initial stage, that of casting simple solid bodies, to the advanced process of core casting. Wrought iron, as sole material, may have preceded the composite guns just described by, perhaps, even three or four score years, and proved fairly satisfactory for the purpose, but it was far otherwise with the projectiles. Iron shot were from the earliest times the desiderata sought by gunners, for lead was too soft, bronze too costly, and stone, even granite, too brittle, at least for siege operations. Wrought spherical balls could only be produced, and that with great labour, for guns of small calibre. Specimens of these up to an 18-pounder are preserved at the Woolwich Rotunda. Many combinations were resorted to to obtain the resisting properties of iron without the costly process of forging it in solid balls, such as lead balls strengthened with iron, and stone balls diced and bound with iron bands. The production of wrought-iron

[a] Vol. x. 472.

cannon balls must indeed have been extremely limited, for even if hammered direct from the bloom while still hot, the difficulty of cutting the mass into pieces of the right weight, and working it into spheres of the proper diameter, must have been excessive. The necessity of some kind of labour-saving appliance, such as a gauge or mould into which the heated mass could be driven or squeezed, would be patent to any hammerman set to the task. The simple and easy process of pouring molten instead of squeezing pasty metal into the mould could not under such conditions remain long undiscovered, and once known, its enormous practical advantages, coupled with the large demand for shot, would have rapidly introduced the process of casting into all the ironworks of Sussex. As with other epoch-making inventions, the date when cannon balls were first cast is unknown, but since this country was the first to make use of artillery, and the first to make use of cast-iron chambers in constructing it, it is at least reasonable to infer that we may also have been the inventors of casting shot. In arts and manufactures the simpler essays precede the more difficult, and on this axiom the casting of plain solids must have preceded that of thin hollow-cored chambers. Ulrich Beham, of Memminghem, is said to have cast balls of lead and iron in 1388. Probably shot were cast in Sussex at a much earlier date. The once universally accepted statement that cast-iron shot were unknown in France or England until 1514 was quite baseless. Chroniclers seldom speak of them, it is true, unless either they were stored in enormous quantities or of such unusual size as to excite comment, like those weighing up to 5 cwt. each made for Louis XI., or some seen in France by Sir R. Guylford, Master of the Ordnance to Henry VII., for a siege piece 2 feet in diameter, and a "shot of yeron xxviij ynches aboute." There is, however, no reference to cannon shot in connection with Sussex until much later dates, while in 1523, as mentioned by Lord Dillon,[a] the best founder of cannon shot in Spain was sent by Charles V. to Henry VIII. Specimens of the solid shot of Henry VIII., up to 65-pounders, have been recovered from the Mary Rose, which sank in 1545.

Cast cannon of bronze were used, it has been stated, by Edward III., though Polydore Vergil, who mentions their use by the English at Mons in 1425, remarks that they were unknown till 1370. The French under Louis XI. and Charles VIII. and the Burgundians, used bronze artillery almost exclusively, while Maximilian and Charles V. certainly preferred it. Henry VIII., according to Nicander Nucius and the Italian Relation, "had very many and large guns, and stores of

[a] *Archaeologia*, li. 227, note [a].

heavy artillery, hand-guns, and bombards" in the Tower, but only a part was of bronze, for even under Henry VIII. the bronze guns were eked out by placing them alternately with guns of wrought iron, as noticed by Hall, and seen in the picture at Hampton Court, of the embarkation of Henry VIII. at Dover in 1520. They alternate even on the king's own ship, the *Grace de Dieu.* Bent on martial renown, Henry's earliest efforts were directed to the acquisition of a formidable bronze artillery, and among Cromwell's services, enumerated by Weaver, is the great quantity of "newe ordenance of brasse" made in England and Calais. It was this desire, which never relaxed, that introduced a new and henceforth chief staple to the Wealden ironfounders.

The cost of bronze artillery, in 1559 £74 per ton, must have taxed even Henry's vast resources. The process of casting cannon in iron, practised in Germany as early as the first quarter of the fifteenth century, if the accounts do not relate to composite guns similar to those of Sussex and used in the Hussite wars, had fallen into disuse and remained unknown in France or England. A gun called the Columbyne, cast at Fountrabye, in Spain, and purchased from Thomas Badcocke for the sum of £18 10s., was possibly of cast iron. The fact that the district was famous for cast iron shot, and the price paid, suggest that it may have been a cast iron gun of large calibre; but whether the idea of casting iron guns arose with Henry in consequence of this purchase, or was suggested to him by a founder, we find Henry, in 1543, on the eve of his last French and Scottish wars, covenanting with a Sussex founder for the production of cast iron cannon at £10 per ton. This was Ralphe Hogge, of Buxted, whose rebus on a house still stands, and whose family was for two or three generations rewarded with Government appointments. The matter was deemed of great importance, for the king's most famous gun founders, Peter Baude a Frenchman, Arcanus de Cesena an Italian, Van Cullen a German, and the English Owens and Johnsons, were despatched to the scene of operations in the Weald. Magnificent bronze guns of Baude, Arcanus, and the Owens are in the Tower, Woolwich, and elsewhere, and from the appearance of a much corroded iron gun at Woolwich, dredged in the Medway, the cast guns of either metal appear to have been at first similarly ornamented. The presence of these great masters of the art of gun-founding insured immediate success, but has led to some confusion as to who was first to actually found iron guns in Sussex.

Holinshed says, "this year (1543) the first cast pieces of iron that ever were made in England were made at Bucker-steed, in Sussex, by Rafe Hoge and Peter Bawd," calling them both Frenchmen. Another tradition transfers the honour to

Huggett, possibly the same individual as Hogge, who had a furnace between Buxted and Mayfield:

> "Master Huggett and his man John,
> They did cast the first cannon."

The John appears to have been John Owen, who with his brother has also been credited with the invention. Of these founders Baude returned to London and is heard of in the first year of Edward IV. as a maker of cast-iron ordnance of diverse sorts, "as fawconets, fawcons, minions, sakers, and other pieces." John Owen accepted a post connected with gunnery in the Tower, and was drowned when shooting London Bridge, in company with an informer, during the brief reign of queen Jane. Robert Owen is not heard of, but the splendid bronze sakeret of Edward VI., at Woolwich, is marked Thomas Owen, 1550. Arcanus is lost sight of, and the latest bronze gun with his name at Woolwich is dated 1542. Van Cullen, while in Sussex, devised and cast mortar pieces from 11 to 19 inches bore, and produced hollow shots or bombs of cast-iron for use in them, "to be stuffed with fireworks," according to Lord Herbert of Cherbury, writing in 1544. His identity may possibly be merged in the numerous Collinses of Sussex. John Johnson remained with Hogge, "succeeding and exceeding his master in this his art of casting ordnance, making them cleaner and to better perfection." Thomas, the son, continued the work, making in 1595, "forty-two pieces of great ordnance of iron for the earl of Cumberland, weighing 6,000 lbs., or 3 tons apiece." Ralphe Hogge, "manufacturer of guns and shot for the Ordnance Office," petitioned to the council in 1574 complaining of the infringement of his patent for the sole exportation of ordnance granted him by the Queen. The Lord Admiral had granted a license to export ordnance to Sir Thomas Leighton in 1572, through the intervention of one Garret Smith, who was to have a fourth of the profits. This was rescinded on a petition from the Londoners, and all transport of iron and brass ordnance, and the manufacture of any kind of ordnance larger than a minion, was forbidden. A list was shortly afterwards drawn up of all owners of ironworks in the three counties of the Weald, and they were enjoined not to sell ordnance without a license. In 1587, among the Egerton papers, is a license from Elizabeth to her favourite Leicester, to produce and export 320 tons of "cast iron ordynaunce" into Holland aud Zealand. This was "to be made, brought, gotten, and procured in our county of Sussex, or elsewhere within any our domynions." The license commands that no other person whatever shall transport ordnance "uppon payne of our grievous and highe displeasure, and as they wyll answere the contarye at their

uttermost." In the interests apparently of this monopoly, the Earl of Warwick, as Master of the Ordnance, commanded in the same year all the gun-founders of Sussex to repair to town by a certain date to understand his further pleasure in regard to the continuance of their trade. Being assembled, his deputy told them that a complaint had been made to the Lords of Council regarding the abuse of the transportation of ordnance into foreign countries. He required "sufficient security against the like abuses for the time to come," and a rate was levied and bonds taken not to sell but to persons named by the lord deputy. Still more stringent regulations were made in 1589, and in 1590 farther bonds taken for due performance. In 1559 English ordnance was reported to be double as good as foreign, and the fact that Count Gondomar "often begged the boon to transport them," shows that their reputation continued to be high. His requests were refused, but the adventurous Sir Anthony Sherley presented one hundred pieces to the King of Spain, produced at the family foundry at Wiston, no doubt. He fell into disgrace for this act and died in poverty, after teaching the art to an Arab king and being made a prince by Shah Abbas. Gun-founding remained a staple industry and quantities were shipped from Rye, Newhaven, and *viâ* the Medway, till late in the eighteenth century. The accusation of smuggling cannon for French privateers and the heavy fines imposed ruined, it is said, the great Gloucester foundry at Lamberhurst.[a]

The fact that ordinary brick and stone are corroded by fire, must have rendered a protecting back, of some more durable material, a desideratum from the first introduction of chimneys. The cast-iron grave-slab, so unsuitable for monumental purposes, may have been suggested by the cast-iron fire-back, and thus the introduction of the latter date back possibly to the fourteenth century. They were moulded from boards, cut to the required outline and thickness, and pressed into a bed of sand, the molten iron being poured into the shallow cavity without any top mould, as a sow of iron is poured at the present day. That such surfaces presented a field for decoration must soon have occurred to the moulder, and the readiest decoration was to be obtained by pressing into the smooth face of the sand any ornament at hand or specially prepared for the purpose. The precise grouping of the impressions would be left to the unlettered workman, who frequently displays less capacity for arranging ornament than a savage. His stock ornaments were fleurs-

[a] An inventory of the iron works at Hamsel, Rotherfield, dated 1708, shows that the price of cast cannon had fallen in the time of Queen Anne to £5 per ton. Nearly half the founder's assets, which comprise household goods, are cast guns. This document is possessed by Miss Bell Irving of Mayfield.

de-lis, rosettes, crowns, etc. with short lengths of cable or possibly twisted bars; but odd pieces of wood-carving, the face of a cast andiron, callipers, staples, or even his hand (fig. 2), were pressed into the service. The disorderly grouping shows clearly that the objects were pressed one by one into the sand, and not previously set out and fixed upon a board. The slabs were edged with a twist derived from twisted bars or a cable stiffened with pitch or glue; such edgings, in fact, being one of the characteristics common to Wealden fire-backs of early date.

Fig. 2. Fragment of a fire-back in the Lewes Museum.

The fire-backs decorated by moveable stamps, a process something like that employed in bookbinding, form the most important class, practically unknown out of England. They are the earliest in point of date, and the process is the most primitive, and the one which first presents itself to the tyro. They thus afford distinct and unmistakeable evidence that the art of iron-casting originated in the Weald, and developed step by step there, and was not transplanted as a perfected art from abroad. When a sufficient number of the backs are grouped together they exhibit evolutionary progress from simple to complex. The earliest are the rudest, though none are actually dated in Roman or Arabic figures, dating and signing work belonging to a much later development, yet some are impressed with

singular arrangements of short lengths of cable twist, recalling the marks upon timber, and accordingly supposed to mean dates. A specimen at Lewes (fig. 3) has

Fig. 3. Fire-back in the Lewes Museum with the supposed date 1406.

been deciphered as 1406, but Sir Henry Howorth is probably correct in viewing it as a rude rendering of sacred monograms. In many cases they appear aimless efforts at decoration by uncultivated minds.

Before attempting to marshal the designs I am acquainted with, a mere drop in the ocean, in any methodical order, I must express my sincere acknowledgments to Mr. Edward Hughes, of Heathfield, who has placed in my hands an unrivalled series of sketches made in the neighbouring farmhouses. But for this assistance, I should not have felt competent to make any useful contribution to our knowledge of the subject. Mr. J. Lewis André has also ceded to me his series of valuable drawings made in the neighbourhood of Horsham.

In arranging the series it is impossible to adopt a chronological order, more especially as the designs composed from separate stamps place in juxtaposition ornaments of widely different dates.

The examples fall into four natural groups: (1) those already mentioned, moulded from separate moveable stamps; (2) those with armorial bearings from a single piece mould; (3) those with biblical, allegorical, portrait, and other subjects; and (4) the replicas of Dutch seventeenth and eighteenth century designs. There are, of course, a few transitional pieces.

Of the first group those bearing royal arms and insignia are foremost in importance. The well-known back belonging to Dr. Prince, of Crowborough (fig. 4), is one of the finest, bearing two pairs of supporters, consisting of two lions modelled

Fig. 4. Fire-back in the possession of Dr. Prince, of Crowborough.

as *passant* but placed obliquely, the one regardant, the other not. The dexter supporter has been taken to represent a dragon, it perhaps equally resembles a boar, and is probably a leopard. They may represent the supporters of Edward IV. Between the upper pair is the shield of France modern and England under an arched crown; and between the lower a crowned shield with E. H. and a fleur-de-lis, perhaps the popular view of the orthodox arrangement of the initials of Elizabeth and Henry VII. The rest of the field bears two crowned and barbed quatrefoil roses and three pairs of apelike figures, called mummers by Lower, and characteristic of the ruder art of the fifteenth century. Each supporter, shield, pair of figures, and crowned rose, has been pressed into the sand separately. The crowned shield of arms, the supporters and mummers, may be Plantagenet, the rest early Tudor. Ancient stamps, in combination with more modern, are found so long as decoration by moveable blocks was resorted to. A similar back, described by Lower,[a] from Riverhall, near Wadhurst, introduces in addition a sword with quillons scrolled towards the blade. Another at Deansland, Warbleton, shows an

[a] *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, ii. 188, and figure.

unbarbed and uncrowned quatrefoil rose. A variation from Rushlake Green, (fig. 5) now in the South Kensington Museum, retains the royal shield of arms, omits the supporters and the shield with E. H., but introduces two crosses of cable ends. Another was observed by Mr. Hughes at High Cross. All are rectangular or with clipped angles, cable-edged, and obviously cast at one foundry, probably, as a tradition referred to by Lower has it, at Wadhurst.

A very important group, frequently met with by Mr. Hughes, may be recognised by the crowned *rose-en-soleil.* The backs are rectangular and cable-

Fig. 5. Fire-back formerly at Mr. Dunn's, Rushlake Green, now in the South Kensington Museum.

edged. The largest recorded is at Herringdale Manor Farm, Waldron, and measures 5 feet $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches by 2 feet 5 inches. The *rose-en-soleil* is repeated seven times, a rosette four times, mixed with crosses and other figures of cable-ends, and four horned sheep, the whole, as observed by Mr. Hughes, forming a jumble unworthy of savage art. The sheep are the horned breed not now raised east of Dorset. The *rose-en-soleil* occurs in a back at Little Inwood in combination with small crocketed finials and fleurs-de-lis; and at Marle Green with the pomegranates and dragons' heads of the Tudors. In the centre of the latter is a most elaborate

stellar pattern of cable-ends, like a magnified snowflake or the heraldic escarbuncle. To the same foundry must be credited many of the rude backs with cable-ends arranged like dates, as in fig. 3, and without associated fleurs-de-lis. In contrast, and also from the same foundry, is a richly decorated group introducing three new and important characteristics, namely, an arching top, though rudely struck, borders derived from Gothic wood-carving, generally a treatment of the vine, and what is

Fig. 6. Fire-back from the Mayfield foundry. Deposited in the South Kensington Museum by Lady Dorothy Nevill.

evidently a private badge, a bird, which Mr. Hughes suggests may be the rebus of the Fowles. One of these has the *rose-en-soleil* five times repeated beneath a similar number of the fowls, the whole within a vine border. This is at Heathfield, and a similar one is said to exist at Cuckfield. One lent by Lady Dorothy Nevill to the South Kensington Museum (fig. 6) has the field covered, save for three

repeats of the fowl, with vertical strips of vine-border. Another at West Dean, in a farmhouse, is wholly covered with vine-strips within a border of quatrefoils. Mr. Lucas, of Warnham Court, possesses a specimen with one fowl within the arched top, the rest being covered by vertical bands of vine. Probably the two backs in which Gothic andirons are imprinted, one associated with fleurs-de-lis (fig. 7), and the other with cable-ends, may be from the same foundry. A small H. N. on the impression of the andirons in fig. 7, from near Hellingly, now at Lewes, presents, according to Lower, the initials of Henry Neville, of Mayfield, *c.* 1587. The second is from Warbleton, and has been figured in the *Art Journal* for 1866.

Fig. 7. Fire-back in the Lewes Museum.

An archaic specimen with a different type of fleur-de-lis, ram's head full face, and a classic helmeted head in profile, belongs to Mr. Lucas. One with this fleur-de-lis and a dagger with scrolled quillons belongs to Mr. André.

A small group introduces fresh departures, a properly struck rounded top, a pointed gable-top, and a crenellated top, all with cable-edges and bearing a small Tudor shield of arms and supporters. Two of these, figured by Lower, from Sutton Hurst and Worth,[a] present the very important addition of makers' initials, inscriptions, and dates (1582) in Arabic numerals from moveable type. Mr. Lucas possesses a curious example (fig. 8) with small pointed gable, clipped angles, escarbuncle, and initials R. A. C., fashioned from cable-twists, but with every end terminating in a small fleur-de-lis.

[a] One from Worth (*Sussex Archæological Collections*, ii. 189) is inscribed: THOMAS VNSTEAD ISFILD, AND DINIS HIS WIF, ANO DOMINO, 1582. The other (*ibid.* 217) from Sutton Hurst has: THES IS FOR IAMES HIDE AND HIS WIF 1582.

Thus far the ornaments used are heterogeneous or chiefly for promiscuous use. The first instance of an actual private crest, modelled, it may be, expressly for the foundry, is associated with the first moulded edge, indicating the employment of carvers or modellers. A fine specimen, measuring 5 feet in length, has been obtained by Mr. Hughes for South Kensington from Marle Green Farm. The crest, a talbot in a wreath on a figure of two intersecting squares, is twice repeated, accompanied by the date 1584. Others from Punnetts Town and Holmhurst bear the talbot once on a ground carelessly sprinkled with fleurs-de-lis.

The first private shield met with is that of the De la Warrs, extensive landowners in Sussex. Many repeats of it are impressed on two fire-backs

Fig. 8. Fire-back at Warnham Court.

exhibited in the Heraldic Exhibition[a] one bearing 14 and another from Edenbridge 16, a part of every alternate one being effaced so as to leave only the lion quarterly. The effacement of part of the design in the sand either to make a variety or accord with the exigencies of space was commonly practised. One described by Mr. Reginald Blomfield from Rolvenden, dated 1603, measured 5 feet 3 inches in length, and another from Kennington, near Ashford, dated 1630, as much, with fifteen repeats of the shield. One seen by Mr. Hughes at Pounceford Farm had seven shields and date 1629. All have cable-edging and initials T. C. or C. T., which are those of the founders of some of the Wadhurst grave-slabs.

[a] *Illustrated Catalogue of the Heraldic Exhibition*, Pl. xx.

Rivalling the De la Warr backs in number are those with the Pelham buckle. These have moulded edges, the moulding being sometimes carried round semi-circular gables. One drawn by Mr. Hughes at Huggett's Farm is covered with square impressions bearing stags, dogs, or hares, four buckles in circles, and two with parts of girdles, an augmentation assumed in 1620 and granted in 1634. It is dated 1642, with initials T. P. Mr. Ade has one with two buckles, a guilloche border and panel from carved wood. Plain examples have only the buckle and girdle with initials and dates from 1630 to 1640. The initials appear to refer to Sir Thomas Pelham, who died in 1654, grandfather of the first lord, and they were

Fig. 9. Fire-back belonging to Mr. Lucas, of Warnham Court.

doubtless cast at the Pelham foundry at Waldron. Mr. Lucas possesses at Warnham two backs belonging to a somewhat analogous and contemporary group, in which spindles take the place of buckles and girdles. They are dated 1622 (fig. 9) and 1632, have cable edges, and are signed I. W.

Mr. André has sketched a back from Hill's Place, Horsham, with a shield of arms repeated ten times. Mr. Ade possessed one with the arms and crest of the Fowles, which are also found on one of the Wadhurst grave-slabs, and on the one now in the Maidstone Museum. A singular example bears a cross within a square, and a St. Andrew's cross in either corner; this is repeated four times, with two

fleurs-de-lis. An unusual example bears the initials I. E. twined in a knot with a knotted border, two small figures, and the date 1617.

Backs decorated by moveable stamps were, except in special cases, discontinued soon after 1640. A survival in the Brighton Museum with moulded edge bears a crown, fleurs-de-lis, pateræ, and rosettes, with H. E. M. 1685. Plain backs with moulded edge and dates are not uncommon at this time.

Grave-slabs were produced in the same way as the backs. The same arms are used for both purposes, as those of the Fowles and Barhams. The shields, inscriptions, initials, and dates were produced from moveable stamps and type kept for the purpose. Words in frequent use were stereotyped to save trouble, and in the cast of the Anne Forster Memorial (fig. 10), the whole inscription was

Fig. 10. The Anne Forster cast-iron grave-slab in Crowhurst church, dated 1591.

stereotyped and reproduced on grave-slabs and fire-backs, examples being in Crowhurst, and Ewhurst, Leigh, Lewes, Warnham, Horsham, etc. The original slab is in Crowhurst church, dated 1591, and bears two shields of arms, a shield with representations of the two sons, and another presenting two out of five daughters, flanking a small shrouded figure, the whole within a vine border.

The single model backs were also evolved in the Weald. The accidental use of an extra large carving as a stamp would at any moment suggest the idea. Cast panels with arms or figures were produced in Germany so early as 1472, as in the Coburg closed stove; the French were casting backs from single models before the middle of the sixteenth century; and in the Netherlands backs with shields of arms, mottoes, imperial insignia, and equestrian portraits were made for Charles V. None of these, however, seems to have reached or influenced our founders of the

Weald. Fig. 11 presents an interesting transition, the escutcheon of arms within the Garter being in one piece, while the triple arched crown and staples are from separate stamps. Arched outline is produced by short lengths of straight moulding.

The back cast from a single model produces an entirely different effect from that cast from a number of smaller moulds, and necessitates a higher order of design. Whether armorial or not, good designers and capable modellers were requisite, and as a group they thus represent an enormous advance in the artistic perception of the Wealden ironfounders, or their employers. Art was reviving in England, and

Fig. 11. Fire-back at Penshurst, Kent, with the Royal Arms.

fire backs of bolder design may have been commissioned, or the carved models sent to the founders for reproduction. A royal shield of arms, with the dragon and greyhound supporters of Henry VII., presents perhaps the first attempt to cast the arms and supporters from one large model. This was not yet, as in those that followed, carved expressly to the founder's orders, as the arms fill a space higher than wide, while Wealden backs were then universally low and broad. A blank space was thus left on either side, like two wings, filled in with the cable edging and stock decorations of cable ends, the pomegranate, dragon's head, fowl, and vine

Fig. 12. Fire-back with the Royal Arms of Elizabeth.

Fig. 13. Fire-back with the Royal Arms of James I. dated 1604.
(From a photograph by Mr. George Clinch.)

border. Two are inscribed, cast in Sussex by John Harvo, probably a successor, manager, or tenant of the Fowles of Mayfield. An E. R. and "DV ET MOVN DRO" are added from type.[a]

The effect of those backs, produced from larger and bolder carvings than hitherto, was certainly appreciated, and it is probable that from this time rival founders provided themselves with coats of arms carved locally, or under the direction of the founder, and expressly for reproduction, while those composed from small associated blocks began to fall into disuse. Numbers of models of royal arms, with lion and dragon supporters accommodated to the wide and low backs, are seen, mostly with moulded margins rising with a small semicircle towards the centre (figs. 12 and 13.) The vacant spaces between the heads of the supporters and the crown are often occupied by initials or Tudor badges. In an example at Penshurst, Elizabethan pilaster-like wings have been added, and at Hampton Court there is one of richer outline and double cable border. Another, at Uckfield, has a large rose in place of arms, and is dated 1571. A large rectangular slab at Penshurst, with rope edge, dated 1579, introduces the lion and greyhound supporters of Elizabeth.

The royal arms of the Stuarts also form an important group. One, dated 1615, in the Maidstone Museum, has a shield of arms fit for a smaller back with the lion crest repeated five times to fill in the extra space. One, noted by Mr. Hughes, at Great Tanners, Waldron, is not the only instance of an incorrect rendering of the arms of the new dynasty. It is from the Fuller's foundry. One at Lewes has the label "James et Anna," and one belonging to Mr. Lucas is dated 1604. At Penshurst apparently the same model is dated 1635, and it seems to reappear at Hampton Court with the date 1687. A curious example with a four-arched crown, and date 1621, is shown in fig. 14.

Tudor badges were used to decorate backs, such as the crowned rose, or portcullis, or the royal arms on an escutcheon, as in an example with E. R. 1531; but under the Stuarts symbolic or allegorical devices began to replace the royal arms. A back, with gabled top powdered with fleurs-de-lis, at Hampton Court, was perhaps devised in compliment to Henrietta Maria. Mr. Hughes found a replica at Heathfield. All the Hampton Court backs appear to be from Sussex. One at Lamberhurst Vicarage, with a shield bearing three fleurs-de-lis on an escutcheon under a crown, was, no doubt, more correctly designed to commemorate the same

[a] Engraved in *Sussex Archæological Collections*, ii. 189.

alliance. There is a duplicate at Lewes (fig. 15), and a different but similar model at Lindfield, and another at an inn, near Crowhurst, with stag supporters. Another model, sketched by Mr. André, has the same arms and crown, but the date 1617.

The lions with crowned roses and thistles were probably designed to commemorate the accession of James, though they continued to be produced long after

Fig. 14. Fire-back with Royal arms with 4-arched crown, dated 1621.
(From a photograph by Mr. George Clinch.)

this event, while an uncrowned copy found near Heathfield by Mr. Hughes, no doubt symbolised, as he supposes, the Commonwealth. Some with anchors, and either the motto *Probasti me*, or the royal crown and cypher, are indicative of the loyal feeling in the Weald, and one with the addition of the phœnix and two satyrs with ornamental details may commemorate the restoration of the Monarchy. The interlaced and crowned C's garlanded with palm and laurel, dated 1661, on a fire-back belonging to Dr. Prince, of Crowborough (fig. 16), and the Boscobel oak

with its three crowns and initials C. R. speak more definitely of the royalist triumph. Others bear equestrian portraits of both the Charles, a little II within the C. R. serving at times to distinguish them, while Fairfax was similarly honoured in 1649. A curious example found at Batsford, dated 1672, is modelled in the florid Dutch manner, and is believed by Mr. Hughes to commemorate the Declaration of Indulgence. There is a tradition that these were from the Lamberhurst foundry, and one is in the vicarage hard by. All are well modelled in gallant

Fig. 15. Fire-back with arms of France under the English royal crown, in the Lewes Museum. (From a photograph by Mr. George Clinch.)

Fig. 16. Fire-back commemorating the Restoration of Charles II., dated 1661.

attitudes, the design having perhaps been suggested by a court painter familiar with the equestrian portraits of Charles V. on fire-backs in the Low Countries.

Of no less interest are those with displayed private armorial bearings. Following royal examples the nobility placed commissions with the Sussex founders, providing employment for skilled designers and modellers. Of these one (fig. 17) presents the finely modelled arms of Villiers, Duke of Buckingham. Others were

Fig. 17. Fire-back with the arms of the Villiers, Dukes of Buckingham.

made for the Viscount Montague of Cowdray, of which replicas still exist in the neighbouring cottages. The late Mr. Osbern Salvin had kindly supplied illustrations of one of these (fig. 18), which are traditionally said to have been produced in the Fernhurst foundry close by. One (fig. 19) bearing the many quarterings of the Dacres was found by Mr. Hughes in a farmhouse at Warbleton, and is now in the South Kensington Museum. The crest, supporters, and coronet of the Earls

Fig. 18. Fire-back with the arms of the Viscounts Montague, of Cowdray.
(From a photograph lent by the late Mr. Salvin.)

Fig. 19. Fire-back with the arms of the Dacres, now in the South Kensington Museum.

of Exeter were found on two backs in houses at Mayfield by Mr. Hughes. The pheon badge of the Leicesters (fig. 20) within a wreath surmounted by a coronet and R. L. 1647 is still at Penshurst; and the crescent of the Percys beneath a coronet with H. IV. 1622 and some quaint foliage at Petworth. These noble families no doubt had them produced at their several foundries; an example followed by those of lesser note, as the Bakers of Battle, the Brabazons of Sedlescombe, and the Barhams of Wadhurst. The arms of the Francis family of Staffordshire occur on a back owned by Lord Leconfield (fig. 21), dated 1606, the

Fig. 20. Fire-back at Penshurst, with the pheon badge, coronet, and initials of the Earls of Leicester, dated 1647. (From a photograph by Mr. George Clinch.)

mantling introducing the Stafford knot. The late Mr. Ade of Alfriston had a specimen. The arms of the Blacksmiths' Company occur on an example (fig. 22) owned by Mr. Garraway Rice, F.S.A.[a]

[a] According to the journal of the Rev. Giles Moore, printed in the *Sussex Archæological Collections*, i. 74, the value of a plate with arms was 10s. "I payed Edward Cripps for an iron plate for my parlour grate with Mr. Mitchelbournes arms upon it, 10s." *Ibid.* 77, "for a plate cast for my kitchen chimney, weighing 100 lb. and 3 qr. marked G. M. S. besides two shillings given to the founders for casting, 13s."

Fig. 21. Fire-back with arms of the Francis family.
(From a photograph by Mr. George Clinch.)

Fig 22. Fire-back with arms of the Blacksmiths' Company, dated 1650.

Allegories and badges were less favoured in England than abroad.[a] One of the few known bears a salamander, is dated 1550, and is in the Lewes Museum (fig. 23); and another has the phœnix and date 1664. There is a model representing a clock face (fig. 24), a specimen of which is at Penshurst, and the complete clock figures upon another possessed by Mr. André. A well-moulded red deer figures upon one seen at Waldron by Mr. Hughes, apparently and appropriately cast in Petworth Park.

Illustrations of current topics, like the Martyrdom at Burwash, are extremely

Fig. 23. Fire-back with salamander, dated 1550, in the Lewes Museum.

Fig. 24. Fire-back with clock face and date 1652, at Penshurst. (From a photograph by Mr. George Clinch.)

rare, the Protestant divine removing the Pope's tiara which he is about to replace with cap and bells, being the best example. This belongs to Mr. Willett and is

[a] The earliest backs seen in the Low Countries are *temp.* Charles V. Havard notes nothing earlier for France than 1548, in the Comptes Royaux. "Item a esté faict ung contre cueur de fer de fonte, où est figuré ung Herculles." Classic mythology supplied subjects to the French founders a century before such designs were appreciated here. One in the Cluny Museum of the time of Henri II. bears Mars and Venus, and another has the same gods associated with the arms of Coucy. 1578. The royal arms of France displayed over the entire back are not seen much before Louis XIII, though one in the Cluny Museum with the French shield thrice repeated, ascribed to the fifteenth century, is no doubt inspired by our Wealden backs from moveable moulds.

deposited in the Brighton Museum. Somewhat akin is one at Hampton Court, representing several Biblical events, shepherds dressed like Protestant divines under the Star of Bethlehem, the Baptism of Christ, the Sacrifice of Isaac, Jacob and Rachel, and the Death of Jacob. All these are rare. Even more interesting and often repeated, is a figure of Richard Leonard of "Bred Fournis," 1636, with his dog, trade mark, implements, and delineation of his works (fig. 25), perhaps the only picture of a Sussex foundry extant.

These bring on the scene the first large importation into Sussex of foreign models for reproduction in their foundries. They are pictorial, originating in Germany or the Low Countries, crowded with well-modelled figures representing scenes from Scripture history, all in rectangular moulded frames. A most elaborate one, which came from Sussex, is possessed by Mr. Percy Macquoid, representing Jerusalem battered by the artillery of Holofernes. The subject of several others frequently met with in Sussex is the Marriage of Cana, of which one (fig. 26) is now in the South Kensington Museum. At Lewes is the Woman of Samaria, a Renaissance canopied-well forming the central feature. Other backs treat the same subject in a different manner. One at Maidstone (fig. 27), of which many replicas exist in the Weald, represents the Death of Jacob.

Fig. 25. Fire-back with figure of Richard Leonard, founder, 1636.

Contemporary with these are a few with floral devices, possibly the precursors of the extraordinary change in the fashion of fire-backs now to be noticed.

The taste for Netherlandish art, which had been steadily growing since the days of Rubens and Vandyke, became still more pronounced on the accession of William III. The days of manias were not far distant and a veritable mania for Dutch fire-backs almost suddenly set in. They differ radically from those that

Fig. 26. Fire-back with the Marriage at Cana, with German inscription, in the South Kensington Museum.

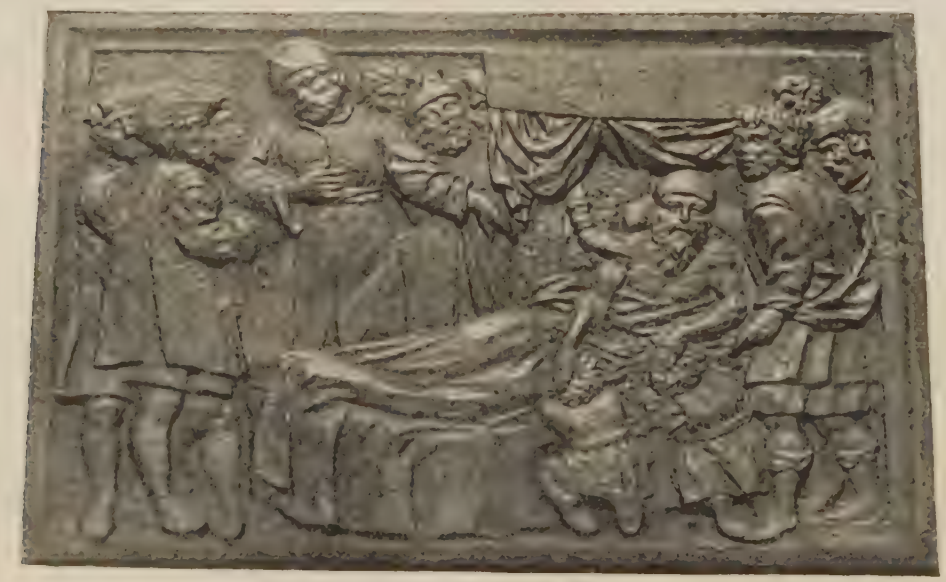


Fig. 27. Fire-back with the Death of Jacob, in the Maidstone Museum

preceded them in being very thin and light, and higher than wide, and in their swelling outlines and rich floral borders. The impress of Netherlandish art is unmistakable, even were an abundance of their counterparts not remaining in Holland and Belgium. They show how completely Dutch architecture and decoration held the field at this time, for iron castings are not susceptible of any after modification, like decoration and furniture.

Fig. 28. Fire-back from a Dutch model, with Jupiter triumphant. (From a photograph by Mr. George Clinch.)

The founders of the Weald, almost suddenly left with nothing but obsolete models, met the situation by importing innumerable fire-backs in the new taste from Holland, for the purpose of reproduction in their own foundries. Some of them still bear the Dutch, or at times German, inscriptions and dates, but these were soon removed, and the initials of the founders and fresh dates substituted. One at Lewes bears a figure and lion of Holland in a wattled enclosure, and the words "Pro Patria, Hollandia, H.H. anno 1665." One in the Maidstone Museum exhibits a triumphant female with "Vreeden, 1697," beneath. Another at Lewes bears the German word "Frühling." Many have indecipherable legends, probably replacing Dutch, which appear to be Welsh, coming perhaps from Glamorganshire, though sometimes found round about Sussex. The subjects when not merely decorative, such as cupids, parrots, vases of flowers, etc. are allegorical of wars and victories, figures in triumphal cars, gods (figs. 28, 29) and goddesses, Hercules, the seasons, Europa, and occassionally even a humorous scene, like

Dr. Prince's dairy-maid upsetting her pail of milk over a too enterprising swain. The silhouettes are based almost exclusively on the swelling lines of conventionalised dolphins, always a most popular ornament among seafaring nations. It is difficult to suppose that any were designed in England, and they were probably appropriated without acknowledgement, as some metal work is at the

Fig. 29. Fire-back from a Dutch model, with martial figure, dated 1746.
(From a photograph by Mr. George Clinch.)

present day. The centres and borders, however, are sometimes transposed, and original Dutch designs may have been reproduced here in different scales. Wood patterns for these backs are naturally rare, but Mr. Willett possesses one, and Lord Ashburnham has another said to have been used in the Penhurst foundry so late as 1811. The backs continued in vogue until superseded by hob grates provided with backs of their own.

For the sake of continuity, the andirons which accompanied the fire-backs for a century or two are noticed together. They do not appear to claim the same antiquity in England as the backs, and, unlike these, were probably borrowed from the French. Our term "awndyryn," "aundyrn," "awnderne," etc., appears to be taken from the French *andier*, as our fire-dog is perhaps but a translation of the French *chien de feu*. The popular Sussex term "brand-iron" or "brand-dog" is but a later association of ideas. The Ste. Chapelle inventory of 1376, quoted in Havard's Dictionary under *andier*, gives *Duo cheneti sive anderii ferri*, and he remarks that *andein*, *ander*, *andei* are found in old French and survive in provincial dialects, the better known term *landier* being an obvious derivation from them. *Chenet*, the modern term from which we get dog, is also spelt *chienet* and *chiennet*, but does not mean quite the same as *chien de feu*.[a] The pair of cast andirons at Hatfield, in the form of crouching dogs, may represent the latter. There is a large variety of types of Gothic andirons in France, whilst ours are restricted to one; and in France very massive dogs are mentioned in inventories of 1368 and 1380.[b] Though it would seem that the vast chimneys of feudal dwellings in England might have demanded sturdy and massive dogs of decorative forms, none of earlier date than the well-known examples at Penshurst and Leeds Castle are actually met with. All, whether tall or short, massive or slight, Gothic or early Renaissance in detail, are of one type, the rectangular pilaster with moulded cap and base, seated on two straddled legs forming a depressed arch, sometimes cusped, the junction being concealed by a shield. The face of the pilaster and legs is almost always sunk into panels and filled with some foliated carving of the period. Some have carved heads under the caps, some have the sacred monogram on the shield, but none can be regarded as earlier than Henry VII., and the oldest dated examples, weighing 200 lbs., from Cowdray, are of the year 1515. To produce a fire-dog modellers or carvers are necessary, and a study of the fire-backs indicates that there were none in the Weald until the sixteenth century. Initials of the founders or their arms, or the arms of clients, occupy the shields. An interesting example, dated 1591, bears the Ashburnham shield and the ash encircled by a ducal coronet above, an instance of coming events casting their shadows. The initials of Pelhams, Nevilles, and other aristocratic founders occur on them. The

[a] "Deux chenetz de fer, deux chiens de feu aussi de fer." "Deux gros chenetz de fer aussi deux petits chiens de feu aussi de fer." Havard, l.c. see chenet and chien de feu.

[b] Four pair made for the Queen's apartments in the Louvre, 1364-68, weighed 456 lbs. In the inventory of Charles V., 1380: "Deux très beaulx chenets de fer ouvrés à fenestrages et à bestes." Havard, l.c.

earliest frankly Renaissance departure is dated 1571, and bears the initials E. R. Caryatid figures come in with James I., a favourite one holding a tobacco pipe and flagon. Classic forms appear with Queen Anne, but fire-dogs are, for several reasons, as a group distinctly inferior in interest to the backs. From the number of examples extant from the same models, they must have been more extensively reproduced than the backs.

It is surprising, considering that the Weald was for almost three centuries the chief seat of iron-founding in England, to find the range of articles it produced so limited. Ordnance, grave-slabs, fire-backs, andirons, are the only staples throughout this long period. It is recorded that the copings of Rochester Bridge were made at Mayfield early in the sixteenth century. There is no known instance of the casting of any railings in the Weald until those of St. Paul's were produced early in the eighteenth century, and the experiment was never repeated, perhaps because of the exorbitant charge made of 8d. per lb., the market price of cast fire-backs, retail, being less than 1d., and of cast ordnance, not much over one halfpenny per pound. The history of these railings, the total price of which amounted to £11,202 0s. 6d., is well known, the opposition of Wren, the long delay before they were erected, and the years longer before they were paid for. The Lamberhurst foundry contracted for them, but sublet some of the work to its neighbours. Apart from this essay, no departure was ever made on a large scale and nothing out of the ordinary produced except a few cast mortars, gipsy kettles, weights, etc. and when the industry was finally expiring perhaps a vase and a few pictorial panels.

No attempt is here made to catalogue or describe the foundries and forges of the Weald, nor to identify the numerous founders' initials which are found on their works during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Extracts from wills, kindly sent by Mr. Garraway Rice, the epitaphs in churches and other documents may render it possible to do something in this direction at a future time.

The Weald, it must be borne in mind, was primarily devoted to the production of the raw material, pig-iron and bar-iron, as Staffordshire is to-day. It is not in such districts that artistic work is practised; none is attempted in the Black Countries of to-day. The Weald only produced its trifling rush-holders and tobacco-tongs when its wholesale trade was ebbing, and no district in England perhaps is more destitute of fine old wrought-iron gates, balustrades, and balconies.

XI.—*The Identity of the Author of the "Morte d'Arthur," with Notes on the Will of Thomas Malory and the Genealogy of the Malory Family. By* A. T. Martin, *Esq., M.A., F.S.A.*

Read June 16, 1898.

Genealogical inquiries as a rule are interesting only to historians or to enthusiasts, but a special interest attaches to the inquiry which is the subject of this paper, inasmuch as it claims to throw some light on the identity of the author of the *Morte d'Arthur*.

The *Morte d'Arthur* was the first English prose classic, and its author may fairly be said to hold in the history of English prose literature the same position which Chaucer holds in the history of English verse.

Of the identity of this author we have hitherto known absolutely nothing, except what he himself tells us at the end of his book, "and here is the ende of the deth of Arthur. I praye you all Ientyl men and Ientyl wymmen that redeth this book of Arthur and his knyghtes from the begynnyng to the endyng, praye for me whyle I am on lyue that God sende me good delyueraunce, and whan I am deed, I praye you all praye for my soule, for this book was ended the ix yere of the reygne of kyng edward the fourth by syr Thomas Maleore, Knyght, as Ihesu helpe hym for hys grete myght, as he is the seruaunt of Ihesu bothe day and nyght."

Caxton tells us that Sir Thomas Malorye took his copy "oute of certeyn bookes of frensshe and reduced it in to Englysshe." And we know that the copy delivered to him in the ninth year of Edward IV. (4 March, 1469—3 March, 1470) was not printed till 1485.

Subsequent editors have been unable to throw any light on the identity of Malory. The author of the article in the *Dictionary of National Biography* can only confess that no member of the Malory family named Thomas can be found to be living at that time, the only Thomas that he knows dying too soon. Dr. Sommer[a] quotes from Bale's *Illustrium Majoris Britanniae Scriptorum Summarium*, 1548, the statement implying that Malory was connected with *Mailoria in finibus Cambriæ, regio Devæ flumini vicina,*[b] but affords no additional information. This is the more remarkable as in our national records, accessible to everyone, there is a mass of information which shows the existence not only of one but of two Thomas Malories who were alive in 1469.

It is the history of these two Malories that I shall try to give a short account of to-night.

1. *Thomas Malory, the Testator.*

The first step in the investigation was made by Mr. T. W. Williams, who communicated to the *Athenæum*, July 11, 1896, an extract from the Report of the Historical MSS. Commissions on the MSS. of Wells Cathedral (p. 183), describing a pardon of Edward IV., Aug. 24, 1468, in which "Thomas Malorie, miles," is, among others, expressly exempted from its benefit.[c]

Soon after this I received information of the will of a Thomas Malory, an account of which I sent to the *Athenæum*, September 11th, 1897. It is contained in a contemporary parchment register, of which the first will is dated 1463.[d] It is in Latin, and is dated at Papworth, September 16th, 1469. The testator styles himself "Ego Thomas Malory de Pappeworth in Comitatu Huntingdon." The provisions of the will are briefly as follows: The testator's body is to be buried in the chapel of St. Mary's, Huntingdon. A chaplain is to say mass for one year in the priory of Huntingdon. To Alice, Elena, and Elizabeth, his daughters, he leaves £20 each. Robert, his son, is to be under the care of the Abbot of Sawtre, *si voluerit esse presbiter aut non.* His executors are to provide for John, his son and heir, *ad scolas literales et ad curiam sciencie et erudicionis legis Anglie quousque sit expertus in sciencia racionabili.* William, his son, is to be apprenticed *ad artem pannariorum* in London, and to be educated until expert *in rationabili sciencia.* His son Antony

[a] H. O. Sommer, *Le Morte D'Arthur*, iii. 335. [b] See *post*, pp. 11, 14.

[c] This pardon is to the executors of Thomas de Bekynton, and is in Wells Cathedral Library, *Liber Albus*, iii. fo. 228, 229.

[d] Register Godyn, fol. 28.

is to be under the care of the testator's mother or of his brothers (*i.e.* brothers-in-law). His sons Christofer and Edward are to be educated until expert *in intellectu vel erudicione si voluerint esse presbiteri seu capellani aut non.* John (*filius meus iunior*) is to be put out to nurse with an honest woman, and, if he lives, is to be educated. He leaves small sums to churches at Papworth and Stukeley, and to Robert Wete his servant. To Margaret Stewkley his kinswoman, and to the wife of John Wakys, his kinswoman, he leaves belts adorned with gold and silver, and to Anne, his sister, the best green gown lately belonging to his wife. To the prior and convent of Huntingdon he leaves a small grove called Crappes "to pray for his soul." The executors are Edmund Shireff and Richard Ward, *clerici*, William and Robert Palmer, *armigeri* (testator's brothers-in-law), Thomas Marres, *capellanus*, and John Berton. John Stewcley and John Wake, *armigeri*, are appointed "supervisors" of the executors; and the witnesses are Thomas Burton de Brampton, vicar of Stukeley, John Wylkyng, William Quadryng, and John Gardyner.

The will was proved at Lambeth the 27th of October, 1469, and the death of the testator, therefore, took place between this date and the 16th of September of the same year.

Papworth is a hundred of Cambridgeshire containing ten parishes, one of which, St. Agnes, is partly in Huntingdon.

Great and Little Stukeley are within two miles of Huntingdon, and Sawtry, to whose abbot the care of the testator's son Robert was entrusted, is no doubt the Cistercian abbey founded by the Earl of Huntingdon in 1146.

Mr. Williams, who had been making further inquiries on his own account, had also independently learnt of the existence of these wills, and he has most kindly put at my disposal the notes of his researches, and it is to him that we are indebted for the loan of the deed with a Malory seal that is exhibited to the Society to-night.

Since last summer I have collected a mass of information about the author of this will and other Malories, and I think the clearest way will be to give the Society a short account of the result of these investigations and to leave any comment on them and on the will to be dealt with subsequently.

Here, I must explain that the whole of the facts I am going to relate are taken directly from MS. contemporary records; of these records I have drawn up a tabulated list.[a] If in any case details have been obtained from printed or later authorities they will be expressly referred to.

It will be most convenient to begin with Anketin or Anketill Malory,[b] the

[a] See Appendix II.

[b] For Genealogical Table, see Appendix I.

grandfather of our testator. Of previous Malories I have some information, but they do not affect this subject.

Anketill or Anketon Malory, the grandfather of Thomas the testator, appears to be the same as Anketill Malory, of Kirby Malory in Leicestershire.

Cole, in his *Collections for various Places*, 1776,[a] says that the Papworth Malories were a branch of that family of the Malories of Kirby Malory, in the county of Leicester.

According to Burton's *Description of Leicestershire*, 1777 (p. 139), and the *Visitation of the County of Leicester*, for 1619, published in vol. ii. of the Harleian Society's publications (p. 58), Anketill, of Kirby Malory, married Alice, daughter of John Driby. Our Anketin married, according to Cole's *Collections*,[b] Alice daughter of William Papworth; but though the contemporary documents I have examined imply this, it is not expressly stated.

If our two Anketills are the same and Burton is right, Anketill, of course, as is very probable, had two wives. But the ancestors of Anketill, as given by Burton, are different from those given in the Harleian MSS., and there is other evidence of inconsistency and inaccuracy.

According to the article in the *Dictionary of National Biography* Anketill Malory sold Kirby Malory in 1377, and Thomas and Elizabeth are said to be his son and granddaughter. This confirms the identification of the two Anketills, and the date of Anketill's death, as given in the Harleian MSS. (1393-94), fits in with the grandfather of our testator. I have not been able to find the authority for the sale of Kirby Malory, but I have little doubt of the identity I have indicated, which is indeed supported by the arms. The Malories of Kirby Malory bore *Or, a lion rampant, queue fourché, gules.* The arms of William Malory, the grandson of Thomas the testator, and great-great-grandson of Anketill, are given in Cole's *Collections*[c] as *Or, a lion rampant gules, collared or*, impaling Shirley, *Paly of six or and azure, a quarter ermine.*

Turning now to contemporary authority, we learn from an Inquisition[d] that in 1382 or 1383 Anketill Malory with others granted lands in the Manor of Exton (which manor is held of the Honour of Huntington) to Thomas Hogekyn, a chantry priest, and we have a full account of how through this Anketill the Malories became possessed of Papworth.

In 1401, William Papworth, whose descent is given in the Cole collection,[e]

[a] B.M. Additional MS. 5849, folio 82.
[b] Cf. also B.M. Add. MS. 5838, folio 37.
[c] B.M. Add. MS. 5812, fol. 10.
[d] Inq. p.m. 6 Ric. II. No. 152.
[e] B. M. Add. MS. 5849, fol. 82.

received Papworth Anneys from William Saundon and Walter King de Winpole for himself and wife and heirs, with remainder, in case of failure of heirs, to William son of Anketill Malory. This deed, quoted *in extenso* by Cole, is confirmed by the Inquisition [a] at the death of Papworth in 1415, which states that the remainder, in case of the failure of heirs of William Malory, was to Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Malory, deceased. This Thomas is the Thomas referred to in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, and this document proves that his death took place prior to 1415.

Alice Papworth, widow of William Papworth, died in 1416,[b] and the manor passed to William Malory.

William Malory, knight, the son of Anketill, was born in 1386.[c] From the Inquisitions [d] we know that besides Papworth he had held Schelton, in Bedfordshire, but had granted it to William Doerley, of Dropincrofte, and others. He also held land in Shropshire, at Shawbury and Upton Waters, near Morton Corbet;[e] but the Inquisition for Shropshire is not to be found.[f] His daughter, Margaret, married Robert Corbet, of Morton Corbet.

Besides the manor of Papworth, he held in 1428 half of one knight's fee in the same place, formerly held by Richard Fraunceys.[g] He also held unjustly part of the manor of Sudburgh, in Northampton.[h] The story of this manor will be referred to later. His wife's name was Margaret.[i] He died 20th of June, 1445.

We now pass to the history of Thomas Malory, the testator; and it is remarkable how much contemporary evidence there is as to the events of his life. This consists chiefly of inquisitions, proofs of age, and other documents, a full list of which is appended.

Thomas Malory [k] was born on the Feast of St. Nicholas Bishop, 4 Henry VI., *i.e.* December 6th, 1425, at Morton Corbet, in Shropshire. He was baptised in the church there the following Tuesday. His godfather was Thomas Charleton, of

[a] Inq. p.m. 3 Hen. V. No. 28.

[b] Inq. p.m. 4 Hen. V. No. 24.

[c] He was thirty years old in 1416, see the above Inquisition.

[d] Inq. p.m. 23 Hen. VI. no. 10; 29 Hen. VI. no. 41.

[e] Lay Subsidy Roll Salop $\frac{166}{67}$ 6 Hen. VI.

[f] The Fine Roll 23 Hen. VI. contains an entry of a writ to the Escheator in Salop and the Welsh Marches.

[g] Exchequer Q.R. Misc. Books, iv. 27.

[h] Inq. p.m. 25 Hen. VI. No. 4.

[i] Inq. p.m. 29 Hen. VI. No. 45. Juror chased a great stag and brought its head to Margaret, mother of said Thomas Malory.

[k] Inq. p.m. 29 Hen. VI. No. 45.

Appeley. [This Charleton was, I suppose, an ancestor of the Meyricks, of Apley Castle, near Wellington.] His godmother was Margery, wife of Thomas Thornes, Esq., of Shrewsbury.

At the time of his father's death, 20th June, 1445, he was twenty years old, though one of the Inquisitions[a] declares him at that time to be more than twenty-one. From the Fine Roll[b] we know that on June 23rd, 1445, three days after his father's death, a writ was issued giving the custody and wardship of Thomas Malory to one Leo Louthe, on the king's behalf. In 1451, May 17,[c] he proved his age at Shrewsbury, which was shown to be twenty-five in the preceding December. He did not, however, obtain a release of his lands at Papworth till May 31st, 1469.[d] In this document express reference is made to the proof of age at Shrewsbury, and there is therefore absolute certainty as to the connection between Shropshire and Papworth. He made his will September 16th, 1469, and it was proved on the 27th October in the same year. It is, however, somewhat remarkable that in two Inquisitions[e] the date of his death is given as September 1st. Either a word has slipt out, and 1st should be 21st, or else September must be an error for October.

At his death he held the manor of Papworth, which may now be described as consisting of:

The manor of Papworth Anneys,[f] held of the king in chief by military service. Also another messuage in the same vill of the Bishop of Ely, as of his manor in Grantesden Parva, by service of paying yearly 6*d.* and twenty-four wooden dishes. Also another messuage in same vill of the Duke of Buckingham, Earl of Stafford, as of his fee of Lovetot. Also the advowson of the church of the Papworth Anneys, "which advowson is worth nothing yearly because the said church is full."

This description of the property tallies exactly with the holding of William,[g] his father, and of Robert,[h] his son, though the valuation and acreage differ slightly.

He held no lands in Northants except part of the manor of Sudburgh, which, as his father had done before him, he had wrongfully seized. He was afterwards ejected by the lawful owner.[i] Besides this, an entry in the Lay Subsidy Roll[j]

[a] 23 Hen. VI. No. 10
[b] 23 Hen. VI. m. 4.
[c] Inq. p.m. 29 Hen. VI. No. 45.
[d] Close Roll, 9 Edw. IV. m. 2.
[e] Inq. p.m. 9 & 10 Edw. IV. No. 16 and 49 Hen. VI.
[f] Inq. p.m. 9 & 10 Edw. IV. No. 16.
[g] Inq. p.m. 23 Hen. VI. No. 10.
[h] Inq. p.m. 7 Hen. VII. No. 58.
[i] Inq. p.m. 49 Hen. VI.
[j] $\frac{122}{70}$ 29 Hen. VI. co. Huntingdon.

says that in 29 Henry VI. 1450—1451, Thomas Malory held lands in the Hundred of Toseland to the value of 20*l.*

In his will, and throughout all the Inquisitions, no designation of rank follows his name. In one entry only, in the Fine Roll[a] of Edward IV. in 1469, November 18th, of a writ to the Escheator in Northampton, he is called "armiger." This Inquisition I have not found. Another writ was dated 3rd December, 1470—a year later,[b] and the Inquisition held at Thrapston, in Northants, January 15th, 1471. Here, as in other cases, there is no designation of rank, either in the writ or in the Inquisition.

His son John was born in 1453, and died in 1471, under age and in the king's custody.[c] The next brother, Robert, born in 1457, proved his age at Caxton, in December 1478,[d] and did homage for his lands in 1482.[e] He died without issue,[f] January 10th, 1492, and the property passed to Anthony, the third brother, from whom were descended a line of Malories of Papworth, on whom I need not now touch, as I believe their descent has been printed.

Anthony's name occurs in the Commission of the Peace for Huntingdon for the years 1510, 1513, 1514, 1520, 1522, 1523; in the Sheriff's Roll for Cambridgeshire and Huntingdon for 1515, 1516, 1517, and his name was pricked in 1518.[g] The holding of his father, at Toseland, is confirmed by an entry in the Calendar of State Papers,[h] "An abbreviate of the books of views and musters brought into the Star Chamber. Hunts, Towesland, by Anthony Malory, 1523." He made his will on 28th July, 1530, and it was proved on 27th October, 1539, at London.[i] Of this will, and of the will of Alice,[k] his wife, I have copies.

Before quitting the history of the family of Thomas, the testator, it is worth while to briefly record the history of the manor of Sudburgh, in Northampton, to which reference has already been made.

[a] 9 Edw. IV. m. 16.

[b] Inq. p.m. 49 Hen. VI.

[c] Inq. p.m. 11 Edw. IV. No. 11.

[d] Inq. p.m. 18 Edw. IV. No. 57.

[e] Originalia Roll 18 Edw. IV. m. 26. L.T.R. Memoranda Roll 22 Edw. IV. *Communia*, Trinity Term, m. 2 d. and Fines Trinity Term, m. 1. d.

[f] Escheator's Accounts, Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire $\frac{2}{1}\frac{6}{}$, 7 & 8 Hen. VII.

[g] Calendar of State Papers, vols. i. and ii.

[h] Vol. iii. No. 3687.

[i] Somerset House, Dyngeley, f. 32.

[k] Ib. Alen f. 20.

In 1360, Anketin Malory granted a parcel of the manor of Sudburgh[a] to Thomas Grene, of Isham, and Ala his wife, daughter of the said Anketin. He subsequently granted them the whole manor. John Grene, the son of Thomas, was seised of both manor and parcel. But at John Grene's death, William Malory seized and held the parcel, the widow Isabel, I suppose, being powerless. At William Malory's death, Isabel recovered the parcel, and Thomas, his son, held it until Thomas Malory, the testator, unjustly disseised him. Thomas Grene, however, recovered possession and held it at Thomas Malory's death.

2. *Thomas Malory, miles, died* 1471.

We now come to my second Thomas Malory, Thomas Malory, *miles*. Among the many inquisitions and writs which I have examined, there is one,[b] dated 6th November, 1471, held at Northampton, which says that Thomas Malory, *miles*, held no lands in that county. He died 12th March, 1471, and his heir was Robert Malory, aged 23. This would fix Robert's birth in 1448.

Unfortunately I have been entirely unable to find any other inquisition, writ, or entry in any records relating to this Malory.

His resemblance to Thomas, the testator, is so curious that one at first sight is tempted to suppose (of course a most dangerous proceeding) an error in the document. He also corresponds very closely with Sir Thomas Malory, *miles*, of Winwick, given in Burton's *History of Leicestershire*,[c] except for the strange statement that he held no lands in Northampton. This I cannot explain, except on the supposition that Winwick was held by his wife, Elizabeth, in her own right. Of this Elizabeth I have found the inquisition.[d] She was the widow of Thomas Malory, *miles*, and she died in 1479. At her death she held Wynwyke, in Northampton, for life, of the king by military service; Newbold Fenne *alias* Newbold Ryvell in Warwick; and Swinnerford or Swinford, in Leicestershire. Her heir is Nicholas, the son of her son Robert.

Here again Burton's genealogy is wrong, Nicholas being made the son instead of the grandson of Thomas and Elizabeth.

The question now arises, is Thomas Malory, *miles*, of the inquisition of 1471,

[a] Inq. p.m. 49 Hen. VI.
[b] 11 Edw. IV. No. 12.
[c] P. 261.
[d] Inq. p.m. 20 Edw. IV. 46.

the same as Sir Thomas Malory, *miles*, of Swinford and Wynwick, the husband of the above Elizabeth, or could he be Thomas, the testator?

The fact that he held no lands in Northants tends to identify him with the testator, inasmuch as the wrongful holding of Sudburgh, in Northants, minutely described in the inquisition held at Thrapston, January 5th, 1471, may well have raised doubt and caused another inquisition to be held at Northampton in the same year to settle the question. The inquisitions at the death of Thomas, the testator, made a slight error in the date of death, and the date, 1471, given in the Northampton inquisition, may possibly be due to a recollection of the Thrapston inquisition in the same year, the date of this inquisition being substituted for the true date, 1469, of the death of Thomas, the testator.

The heir of Thomas, the testator, in 1471, was his second son Robert, but he was born in 1458, and his age would have been 13 and not 23, the age of Robert the son of Thomas Malory, *miles*. It is quite clear, therefore, that in this respect the Thomas Malory, *miles*, of the Northampton Inquisition, tallies with the husband of Elizabeth Malory, of Winwick, and notwithstanding the statement that he held no lands in Northampton, this identification seems the most probable.

If Thomas Malory, *miles*, is not the Thomas Malory of Winwick and Swinford, the date of the death of the latter is unknown. The pedigree of the Winwick Malories is given in Burton's and also in Nichols's *History of Leicestershire*, but not fully. I have one inquisition[a] of the year 1311, relating to Peter Malory,[b] which shows that he held Wynwick jointly with his elder brother Stephen by feoffment of their mother, Beatrix of Bokervyle.

The heir of Peter is said to be his eldest brother Roger, aged at that time 60 or more. According to Burton, Stephen was succeeded by his son John Malory, knight, and the latter by John Malory, who is not styled "miles."

He was the father of Sir Thomas of Winwick, and I am enabled by the kindness of my friend Mr. Williams to exhibit to-night a grant by this John Malory, which is particularly interesting because his seal is still attached. The grant is by John Malory de Wynwyk, armiger, to John de Seyton, of an annual rent of five marks secured on lands in the parish of Kirby Monachorum, in Warwickshire.

The deed is dated September the 2nd, 10th Henry V., *i.e.* 1422, really two days after the death of that king.

The seal has been described for me by Mr. J. R. Bramble, F.S.A., as follows: "The impression of the seal (of red wax) is circular, exactly one inch in diameter.

[a] Inq. p.m. 4 Edw. II. No. 6.

[b] See Pedigree, Appendix I.

Between two parallel cabled circles is the inscription in old English characters Sigillu[m] Joh[ann]is Malory with palm branches between the words. The inner circle is cusped and contains a finely formed plain shield, *Ermine, a chevron within a bordure engrailed.*"

These are the arms of Revell, the chevron being *gules* and the bordure *sable.* Stephen, the grandfather of John, having, according to Burton, married Margaret the daughter and heiress of John Revell, of Newbould Revell in Warwickshire. Thus Stephen or his son must have adopted the arms of Revell.

The inquisition held at the death of Elizabeth, Sir Thomas Malory's wife, has already been mentioned.

According to Burton, Sir Thomas Malory's son Nicholas (it should be grandson) left as his heiress his daughter Dorothy, and she marrying Edward Cave the manor of Winwick passed to him.

This closes the history of the Winwick Malories, and it only remains now to discuss the question of the identity of one or other of these Thomas Malories with the author of *Morte d'Arthur.* The claimants, to recapitulate, are:

1. Thomas Malory, the testator, died 1469.
2. Thomas Malory, *miles*, of the Northampton Inquisition, died 1471.
3. Thomas Malory, *miles*, of Winwick.

These last two appear to be one and the same, but even assuming that they are different, the claims of either or both rest on exactly the same ground, viz. the weight which is to be attached to the designation, "miles."

The author calls himself "knight," and if Thomas, the testator, is to be excluded on the ground that he has no designation in contemporary documents, except in one where he is called "armiger," then the probability is that Sir Thomas, of the Northampton Inquisition, *i.e.* Sir Thomas of Winwick, is the author. If again, the question of the title "miles" is decisive, this Sir Thomas Malory will in all likelihood be the same as the Sir Thomas excluded from the Pardon of Edward IV. in 1468.

But beyond the existence of the designation "miles," there is not a scrap of information which tends to identify this Sir Thomas with the author.

On the other hand all the evidence which I have collected tends to show that Thomas Malory, the testator, was the author.

The tradition said to be mentioned by Leland is that the author was a Welshman from a district called Mailoria. It is worth while, however, to quote Bale's own words:

"Thomas Mailorius genere ac patria Brytannus, heroici animi ac generosi

studii homo inter eius temporis alumnos, uariis uariarum uirtutum & fortunarum dotibus emicuit. Est Mailoria ut in antiquarum dictionum syllabo Lelandus habet, in finibus Cambriæ regio quædam Deuæ flumini uicina, quam & alibi quoque a fertilitate & armorum fabrefactura commendat. Inter diuersas reipublicæ curas non remisit ille literarum studia, sed succisiuis horis historias legere dulcissimum ducebat, & quasdam in ipsis iucundæ uetustatis reliquias quasi præ oculis uidere. Vnde in earum lectione diutissime uersatus, ex multis authoribus, & libris Latine ac Gallice scriptis magno labore collegit, atque in linguam nostram uertit—

Acta regis Arthuris. Lib. i.

De mensa rotunda eiusdem. Lib. i.

Præter hæc nihil eum edidisse noui nec in bibliopolarum officinis amplius quicquam uidi. Ab huius libris aniles fabulas, quibus abundat, necessario resecandas esse putarim, ut ueritas in historia seruetur. Claruisse his diebus fertur." [a]

In the first place it must be noted that the title which Bale gives to Malory's work is not the title given to the work by Caxton, nor does the division of books in any way correspond to Caxton's.

It should also be noticed that Bale calls Malory not a Welshman, but "Britannus," and as his work is called *Illustrium Majoris Britanniæ Scriptorum Summarium*, this word would seem to mean not a Welshman but an Englishman. Moreover, Bale does not give Malory the title of *miles* nor the prefix of "sir." Again, Leland is only quoted as the authority for the description of Mailoria, and not for the account of the author. Leland says Mailoria was *in finibus Cambriæ*, which would appear to mean not in Wales but on the borders of Wales. At any rate, this statement ought to dispel the doubt which has been raised by many as to the existence of the district Mailoria. But there is other evidence on this point. Professor Rhys has already pointed out that the name Edward ap Rhys Maelor, of a Welsh poet, which occurs in Tanner's *Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica sive de Scriptoribus qui in Anglia, Scotia, et Hibernia floruerunt* [b] is equivalent to Edward Price of Malory; but my friend Mr. Williams has supplied me with another extract from the same work which runs as follows: "Johannes Dritonus, sive de Arida Villa, habuit in Episcopatu Menevensi ecclesiam de Malores." I am also indebted to Mr. Williams for a reference to Dugdale [c] where mention is made of a gift of a parcel of land to the Hospital of St. John the Baptist in Ludlow by Walter de Lacy, which land had been formerly given to Peter Undergod by a Malore.

[a] *Illustrium Majoris Britanniæ Scriptorum*, 1557.

[b] Ed. 1748, p. 252.

[c] Mon. Angl. ed. 1817-30, vi. 681.

Thus we have the clearest evidence

(1) As to the existence of a district Mailoria or Malory;

(2) As to the association of a Malory with the Welsh Marches.

But on this second point additional evidence is hardly wanted, for the inquisitions and other documents which relate to Sir William Malory establish this fact beyond any doubt.

What were the exact limits of this district it is hard to say.

Morton Corbet in Henry VIII.'s time was apparently not in the diocese of St. David's, but in that of Coventry and Lichfield. It is situated to the north of Shrewsbury, and, as William Malory held land in the neighbourhood of Morton Corbet, Mailoria may well be the district between the Severn and the Dee.

This corresponds with the description *in finibus Cambriæ*, inasmuch as it is on the Welsh March; and it is also *vicina Devæ*, as the north-west of Shropshire is partly bounded by the Dee.[a]

Bale's reputation for accuracy is slight, and unless he got his information from some statements of Leland, which cannot now be traced, no great weight can be attached to his account of the author.

I can, however, quote one piece of evidence which shows that Leland was personally acquainted with a Malory. After mentioning in his *Itinerary* that the limits of Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire are at Papworth Agnes, which, it will be remembered, is the other home of Malory, he says that a Malory told him a circumstance concerning a collegiate church at Cotterstock. This was in the year 1542, the time of William Malory, the grandson of the testator. Leland had therefore beyond all doubt opportunity of learning the facts of the author's life. That Leland knew of his existence is clear from the fact that in his *Assertio Inclytissimi Arthurii Regis Britanniæ*, 1544, the name Thomas Meilorius occurs in a list under the heading "Nomenclatura autorum quorum testimoniis præsens utitur libellus." But the fact that Leland in his *Commentarii de Scriptoribus Britannicis* makes no mention of Malory shows that he did not consider him of much importance. It may well be, however, that the fame of the author was so eclipsed by the fame of the printer that the work was known rather as Caxton's than as Malory's, and this may be the explanation of the curious absence of information as to the life of the author of a book which was undoubtedly most popular in the sixteenth century.

To sum up all that can definitely be said is (1) that there was a district called "Mailoria," and (2) that tradition connects Malory with this district.

[a] On this point see Postscript, p. 14, where the difficulty is solved.

Now the history of Thomas, the testator, agrees in a remarkable way with Bale's statement. He was the son of a man who owned land on the border. He was born at Morton Corbet close to the border. His godfather and godmother were border people. He proved his age at Shrewsbury at twenty-five, and his actual connection with his property in Papworth did not begin till a few months before his death.

As regards the title "miles," it may be observed that though he was never so designated, his father bore that title, and he himself held a knight's fee and was a tenant *in capite* by military service. Bale, moreover, as has been said, does not call him "miles." I suggest therefore that the absence of the word in legal documents is not fatal to his identification with the author.

I venture now, assuming this identity, to suggest a possible account of his life, as follows:

The author was born and brought up on the borders of Wales. After 1450 he was involved in the wars of the Roses and took the Lancastrian side. He was by name exempted from Edward IV.'s pardon, 1468. He then, as Mr. Williams suggests, fled to Bruges, and there gave Caxton his *Morte d'Arthur*, which was finished after March 1469. He was shortly after allowed to return to England, and in May in the same year, 1469, received release of his lands at Papworth, where he died in September or October of the same year.

Whether my identification be accepted or not it can at any rate no longer be said that no Thomas Malory is known who was alive in 1469.

POSTSCRIPT.

Since reading the foregoing paper I have been fortunate enough to find in Leland some passages which not only establish the fact that there was a district called "Mailoria," but which exactly define its locality and its limits. That these passages have never been discovered by those who are interested in the subject is due, I suppose, entirely to the faulty nature of the index to Hearne's edition of the *Itinerary*. The passage from Leland, as quoted by Bale, is as follows: "Est Mailoria in finibus Cambriae regio Devae flumini vicina." The "Syllabus" from which this passage is taken is printed in vol. ix. of Hearne's edition of the *Itinerary*, and on referring to this it will be found that this statement is followed by another sentence, which runs as follows: "et haec quidem dividitur in Cambrianam quae nunc Bromefelde et Saxonicam." The explanation of this sentence is to be found in the *Itinerary*.[a]

"Englisch Maylor lyith altogether on the South side of Dee, conteyning 3 Paroches, Oureton, Bangor Vaure, Hanmere." * * * *

"This is Bangor wher the great Abbay was. A part of the Paroch that is as much as lyith beyond Dee on the North Side is in Walsche Marlor (note v. l. Maylor) and that is as half the Paroche of Bangor. But the Abbay stoode yn Ynglishe Mailor on the hither and South side of Dee." * * * *

"Walch Maylor caullid in Englisch Bromefield lying on the North side of De lower on Dee than Yale and yoining hard upon Yale. It lyeth est apon Holt Bridge the which devidith Chestershire from Bromefelde. Flintshire lyith North on it. Diffrin Cluit lyith West on it. And Englisch Mailor, alias Mailor Sesneg id est Saxonica, lyith South on it."

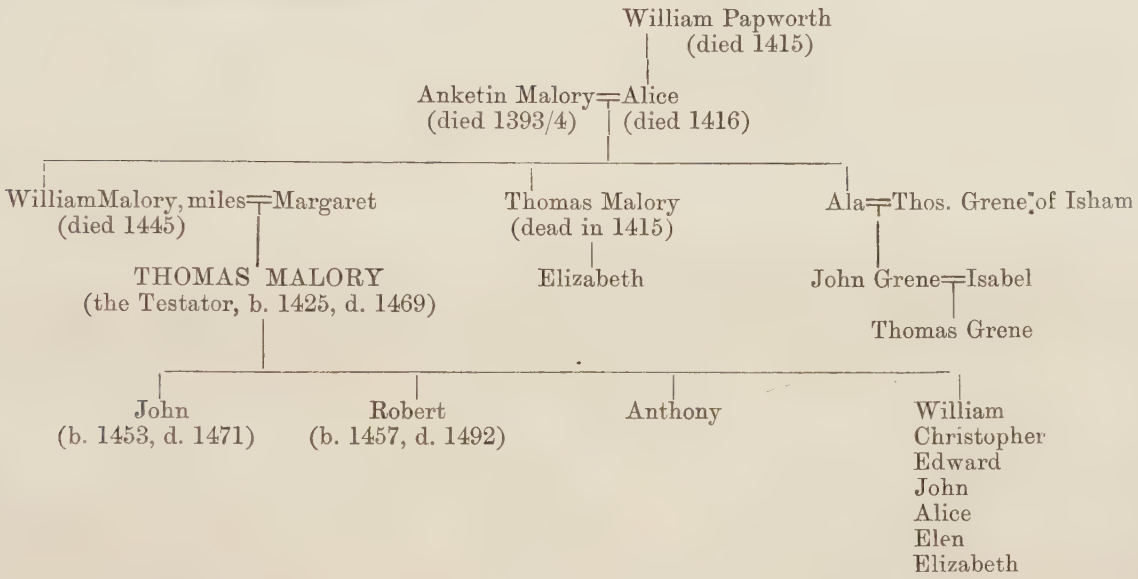
The expression "lyeth est apon Holt Bridge," is, of course, equivalent to "reaches on the east to Holt Bridge." Welsh "Maylor" is therefore the eastern part of Denbighshire, and included Gresford, Wrexham, and Ruabon, and the country between those towns and the Dee.

Bangor is Bangor Coed on the Dee, six miles south of Holt. English "Maylor" corresponds to the outlying portion of Flintshire to the east of the Dee; the two parishes of Overton and Hanmere being situated just to the north of the border of Shropshire and to the south of the parish of Bangor. This district is much the same as that which I suggested in this paper, and it is now certain that Thomas Malory, of Papworth, our testator, was born within nine miles of the district called English Malory.

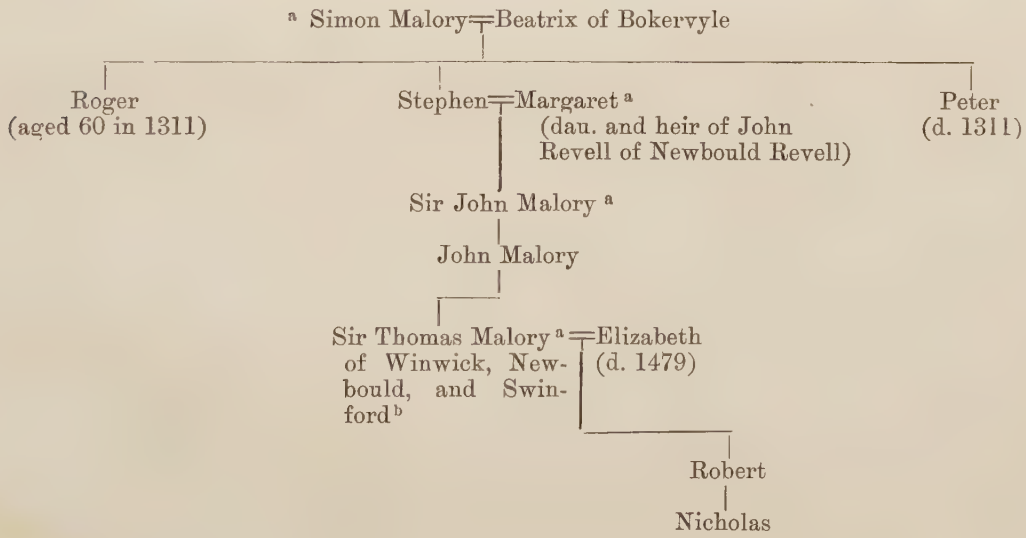
[a] Vol. v. pp. 31 to 33 (edition 1769).

APPENDIX I.

A. PAPWORTH MALORIES:



B. MALORIES OF WINWICK AND SWINFORD:



[a] Supplied from Burton's *History of Leicestershire.*

[b] Query the same as THOMAS MALORY, miles, of the Northampton Inquisition (d. 1471).

APPENDIX II.

LIST OF DOCUMENTS CONSULTED AND REFERRED TO.[a]

WILLS—

1. Of Simon Malory of Clerkenwell	1442/3	Rouse, 15.
2. Of Thomas Malory of Papworth	1469	Godyn, 28.
3. Of Henry Malory of Loxley (Warwick)	1500	Moone, 23.
4. Of Anthony Malory of Papworth	1530	Dyngeley, 32.
5. Of Alice, wife of above	1546	Alen, 20.

The above references are to the Registers in Somerset House.

INQUISITIONES POST MORTEM.

1. Nicholaus, son of Anketon Malory (of Yorkshire)	3 Edw. 1. No. 12.
2. Sarra, daughter of Anketon	16 Edw. I. No. 13.
3. Henry, son of Sarra (proof of age at Lincoln)	16 Edw. I. No. 75.
4. John Malory (Warwick)	25 Edw. I. No. 51.
Roger Malory (Leicester).	
Thomas Malory of Kirby Malory (Leicester).	
5. Peter Malory of Winwick (Northampton)	4 Edw. II. No. 6.
6. Anketill Malory (Rutland)	6 Ric. II. No. 152.
7. Antony Malory and Alice his wife (Lincoln)	16 Ric. II. No. 19.
8. John Malory (Warwick)	22 Ric. II. No. 46.
9. William Papworth	3 Hen. V. No. 28.
10. Alice, wife of above	4 Hen. V. No. 24
11. Henry Malory (Yorkshire)	3 Hen. VI. No. 32.
12. William Malory of Papworth.	23 Hen. VI. No. 10.
13. Ditto (as to Sudburgh)	25 Hen. VI. No. 4.
14. Ditto (as to Huntingdon)	29 Hen. VI. No. 41.
15. Thomas Malory of Papworth (proof of age)	29 Hen. VI. No. 45.
16. John Malory (Warwick)	38 & 39 Hen. VI. No. 59.
17. Thomas Malory of Papworth	9 & 10 Edw. IV. No. 16.[b]
18. Thomas Malory, miles, (as to Northants)	11 Edw. IV. No. 12.
19. John Malory, armiger (Leicester)	9 & 10 Edw. IV. No. 17.
20. John Malory of Papworth	11 Edw. IV. No. 11.
21. Robert Malory of Papworth (proof of age)	18 Edw. IV. No. 5.

[a] This list includes many documents relating to other Malories than those referred to in this Paper.

[b] This Inquisition includes that of 49 Hen. VI.

22. Elizabeth, wife of Sir Thomas Malory of Winwick . 20 Edw. IV. No. 46.
23. Robert Malory . . . . . 7 Hen. VII. No. 58.
24. Emma Malory . . . . . 13 Hen. VII. No. 92.
25. John Malory (Leicester) . . . . . 15 Hen. VII. No. 53.
26. Sir William Malory (Yorkshire) . . . . . 15 Hen. VII. No. 61.

Close Roll.

De Terris Liberandis (Thomas Malory) . . . . 9 Edw. IV. m. 3.

Abbreviatio Rotul. Originalium.

Vol. i. 16 Edw. I. Sarra.
20 Edw. I. Peter Malory.
32 Edw. I. „ „

Vol. ii. 25 Edw. III. Peter Malory.
40 Edw. III. John Malory (Wynwick).
48 Edw. III. Giles Malory (Hereford).

Originalia Rolls.

De homagio (Robert Malory) . . . . . 18 Edw. IV. m. 26.
Ditto (Antony Malory) . . . . . 7 Hen. VII. rot. 12.

L. T. R. Memoranda Roll.

De homagio (Robert Malory), Communia Trinity Term . 22 Edw. IV. m. 2d.

Calendarium Genealogicum (printed).

3 Edw. I. No. 12. Nicholaus Malory.
18 Edw. I. No. 32 (App. II.) Peter Malory.

Accounts, Exchequer, Q. R. Bundle 35, No. 2. William Malory *temp.* Edw. III.

Calendar to Rymer's Fœdera (printed). Vol. ii. Anketill and others.

Fine Rolls.

Pro Leone Louthe (guardian of Thomas Malory) . . . 23 Hen VI. m. 4.
William Malory (writs for Inquisitions to Escheator for Beds., Bucks., Cambs., Hunt., Salop, and Welsh Marches) . „ „
Thomas Malory, armiger . . . . . 9 Edw. IV. m. 16.

Escheator's Accounts.

1. $\frac{10}{30}$ 25 Edw. III. Peter Malory.
   $\frac{26}{1}$ No. 3. 7 Hen. VII., Robert Malory (Papworth).
   4. ditto
   10. ditto
   $\frac{151}{1}$ 4. 2-4 Hen. VII., Robert Malory of Lychbarrow, Northampton.

Catalogue of Ancient Deeds. (Printed.) Various Notes.

Escheator's Inquisitions.

3 Hen. VII. Robert Malory (Northampton).
13 Hen. VIII. John Malory (Northampton).

Exchequer Q. R. Misc. Books. Vol. iv. p. 27.

Knight's Fees, 6 Hen. VI.
William Malory of Papworth.

Lay Subsidy Roll $\frac{122}{70}$.

29 Hen. VI. Thomas Malory and Toseland.
$\frac{166}{67}$ 6 Hen. VI.
William Malory and Shropshire.

B. M. Add. MSS. 5849. Folio 82, Cole's Collections.
Ditto 5812, folio 10.

Anketill Malory, and Malories of Papworth.

Ditto 5838, folios 37 and 40.
Papworth.

B. M. Cotton Charters, xxvii. 79. Sir Thomas Malory, knt., witness to deed.
2 Hen. IV. 2 seals.

Calendar of State Papers. (Printed.) Antony Malory and others.

De Banco Roll, 154.

33 Edw. I. Peter Malory.

XII.—*On the Panel Paintings of Saints on the Devonshire Screens.*
By Charles E. Keyser, *Esq.*, *M.A.*, *F.S.A.*

Read 25th February and 25th March, 1897.

It is a curious fact that in these days when so much notice is taken of and so many papers have been compiled on the various objects of architectural interest, which fortunately still abound in our English churches, so little attention has been paid to perhaps the most distinctive feature to be found in the churches of Devonshire, namely, the series of scriptural subjects, apostles, prophets, and saints, depicted on the panels of the screens, of which so many and such fine examples have been preserved throughout the county. Elsewhere, except in Norfolk and parts of Suffolk, it is extremely unusual to find figures of saints painted on the panels of the screens, though it is probable that the vandalism and mistaken religious zeal of former days have obliterated many which then existed, and it therefore seems especially important that some attempt should be made to describe and thereby perpetuate a memorial of these specimens of religious art, so comparatively uncommon in this country.

As has been stated, very little information is to be obtained on this subject. In the *Transactions of the Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society* the screen at Combe Martin,[a] and that at Peter Tavy,[b] are referred to, and in the second series,[c] in a paper on the ancient woodwork of Devon, it is merely stated that several screens "have figures of saints and martyrs depicted on the panels."[d] In the monograph on Plymtree church, by the Rev. T. Mozley, entitled *Henry VII.*,

[a] ii. 83. [b] iv. 171. [c] ii. 96.

[d] Since this Paper was read, an account of the screen at Kenton, with full lists of saints, has been published in the *Transactions of the Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society* (3rd Series), i. 114-116.

Prince Arthur, and Cardinal Morton, the figures on the fine screen are enumerated and described in the Appendix of the quarto edition; and in the *History of Chudleigh*, by Mary Jones, we have the description of the screen in the church there, and the saints on the screen at Widecombe-in-the-Moor are set out in the work by R. Dymond, on *Things New and Old concerning the Parish of Widecombe-in-the-Moor*. The various handbooks mention certain examples without any attempt to specify the subjects portrayed, and it is only in Dr. Oliver's *Ecclesiastical Antiquities in Devon*, where, in his account of the various churches visited by him in the early part of this century, he refers to and mentions the names of some of the saints on the several screens, and in the works published by Mr. Charles Worthy, on *Ashburton and Neighbourhood*, *The Suburbs of Exeter*, and *Devonshire Parishes*, where an attempt is made to set out the full series in the churches which he is describing, that any information is to be gleaned on this interesting subject. It looks, therefore, as if there were some diffidence on the part of the Devonshire antiquaries and others in attempting to deal with this branch of ecclesiastical art, and it may seem presumptuous in one who has no connection with the county, and who has only been able to pay a single visit to many of the examples which are hereafter to be described, to venture to step in and endeavour to elucidate a subject which the local experts have hitherto refrained from expounding.

The county of Devon is not specially renowned for the grandeur or beauty of its churches, but it yields to no other in the excellence of its woodwork and the magnificence of the screens, which in the majority of the churches are still preserved. Many of them retain their roodlofts, and the wealth of gilding and colour with which they were originally decorated. The carving, especially of the foliage and other ornamental work, is always of the highest excellence, but the figures depicted on the panels are, as a rule, of no special merit, and inferior in their execution to the better known examples in the Eastern Counties. In some instances the apparent rudeness of the subjects may be due to the ill-treatment they have received, as in cases where the panels have escaped the brush of the painter and varnisher, or renovation from some well-intentioned but incompetent local artist, we still find figures and subjects exhibiting vigorous and careful treatment, worthy of the artistic spirit of the age in which they were executed. Dr. Oliver, in his introduction to the *Ecclesiastical Antiquities in Devon*, refers in strong language to the removal of many of the fine screens during his time, and in a paper read before the Society of Architects last year, Mr. Harry Hems gives "a very incomplete list of no less than eighty Devonshire churches that apathy, greed,

ignorance, fanaticism, or right down wilful wickedness, respectively or combined, have deprived of their chief glory and pride, their carved oak fifteenth-century screens."

One point which must strike the most casual observer is the very late period at which most of the screens were erected. Very few can be of earlier date than about 1480, while there are numerous instances where the carving is quite Italian or Renaissance in its character, as at Bridford, Ilsington, Lustleigh, South Pool, etc. and these cannot have been executed earlier than about 1530. There are examples, too, which will hereafter be cited, of painted figures in trunk hose and other characteristic costumes of the time of Queen Elizabeth, or even later, which are exceedingly puzzling, and add to the difficulty of identifying the scheme and design of some of the series which will be referred to.

Most of the screens with the panel-paintings of saints are to be found in the district between Exeter and Totnes, to the south and south-east of the wild district of Dartmoor, and though there are a few outlying examples, such as Combe Martin and Bampton on the north, Portlemouth and South Pool on the south, and Beer Ferrers and Peter Tavy on the west, it may be possible presently to hazard a conjecture as to the influence or origin to which the painting of many of these screens may be attributed, though unfortunately no documentary evidence can be adduced to substantiate any theory which can be put forward.

Another point which may perhaps have deterred local antiquaries from the attempt to go fully into this subject is the extreme difficulty of identifying many of the figures portrayed. In some cases confusion has been caused by careless re-painting and ignorance of the emblems borne by the several saints, but in numerous instances the distinctive attributes are quite different from those found in Norfolk and elsewhere, and there are some figures which cannot be identified by comparison with any known examples. Even the apostles show a diversity of treatment from that usually found, and a careful study of Dr. Husenbeth's most valuable work on the emblems of saints is often of no avail to throw light upon the personality of many of the more uncommon saints thus depicted. In a few instances only the names are inscribed on the panels, and this is especially fortunate in the case of the very fine screen at Wolborough, which will hereafter be particularly described, as there are there several named examples of saints with their emblems which do not occur elsewhere in England.

The ordinary Devonshire parish churches are, as a rule, of the Late-Perpendicular period, and are remarkably uniform in their design, consisting of chancel, and nave, and one or two aisles, with each aisle continued one bay eastward to form a

chapel flanking the chancel. The chancel and chapels seem in all cases to have been separated from the nave and aisles and from each other by beautiful screens elegantly carved and highly enriched with colour and gilding. With a few exceptions the panel paintings only appear, as elsewhere, on the western face. The figures are usually small, varying from 16 to 20 inches in height, and are depicted on red or green or occasionally, as at Beer Ferrers and Ipplepen, on a white ground. At Ashton a series of large half-length figures and some sacred subjects are painted on the east face of the main screen and on both sides of that dividing the north chapel from the chancel, and similar pictures remain on the east face of the chancel screen at Buckland-in-the-Moor. At Bridford the Salutation and two other subjects are painted on the screen dividing the chancel from the north chapel. At Kenn the octagonal column of the arch opening from the chancel to the chapel on the south side is panelled on its western face, and the panels have been painted with subjects of the Holy Trinity and the Annunciation. At Wolborough not only are there the usual screens across the nave and aisles but also additional ones returned westward, so as to enclose shallow transepts or parcloses on either side of the aisles, all having panel paintings on the sides facing the nave and aisles. No doubt there have been many similar examples, which have been obliterated by the destruction of the subsidiary screens altogether, or by their removal to another part of the church, as in the case at Bradninch.

With the exception of the beautiful choir screen in the cathedral church at Exeter, the painted panels on which are too well known to require any fresh description here (they are said to have been executed in the reign of Henry VII.), the earliest screen apparently with these panel paintings is the noble example in stone at Totnes. Traces only can now be discerned of a bishop, etc. but sufficient to demonstrate that each stone compartment was adorned with the painting of a saint, while the screen was further enriched with numerous sculptured figures under canopies, which have all disappeared.

On the panels of the fine stone screen of St. Gabriel's chapel, in Exeter cathedral church, is a very beautiful and somewhat early representation of the Annunciation. The painting, though much injured, possesses considerable merit both in its colouring and design.

In a few examples small effigies carved and painted and gilded were affixed to the panels. At Ashburton was a very fine screen thus ornamented, which has been destroyed, but it is believed that some of the panels are still in private possession. At Bridford, besides some other subjects, are twenty-four sculptured figures of the apostles and prophets still retaining their colour and gilding, and at

Lustleigh a similar series also remains. At North Bovey small figures of St. Paul and the eleven apostles can be made out round the doorway, but the screen has been brown painted over, and no trace of the original colouring now exists. There are similar figures round the main doorway of the screens at Manaton and Kenton.

Of the examples with saints, etc. depicted on the panels we have records of several which have disappeared or been obliterated within comparatively recent times. At Kings Teignton some interesting panel paintings are recorded by Dr. Oliver, namely, SS. Catherine, Denys, Barbara, Helen, Geneviève, etc. The screen has been removed, but some of the panels have, it is believed, been preserved. At Stoke in Teignhead a series has been entirely removed. At Bampton, where subjects emblematic of the Passion are mentioned by Dr. Oliver, the panels have been brown painted over, and similar treatment has been accorded to those at Feniton and Payhembury. At Abbots Kerswell it is thought that traces of figures can be discerned through the paint. The panels of the screen at Throwley, with scriptural subjects painted in the year 1544, have been removed, and no trace of those at Trusham, formerly adorned with figures of SS. Peter, Paul, Andrew, James, Simon, George, and Helen, can now be found.

Information as to a screen at Woodleigh with saints on the panels was supplied only a few years ago, but no trace of any such screen now remains. Within quite recent times the central portions of the screens at West Alvington, Malborough, and South Huish have been removed and the two first named destroyed. The fine chancel screen of South Huish is preserved in the chapel at Bowringsleigh near Kingsbridge. The panels have been painted white and five of the saints preserved, viz. St. Andrew and St. Thomas apostles, St. Erasmus, and two female saints. The screen at Broadclyst has been removed, while at Ilsington the screen remains, but the saints formerly depicted on the panels have been obliterated.

A part of the old screen at Mamhead, with representations of some of the apostles, is now incorporated in a pew, and two lower portions of that at Peter Tavy, with eight panel paintings of the apostles, are now lying about loose within the chancel rails. Mention is made of the Heavenly Hierarchy, etc. on the rood screen at Tavistock, but nothing now remains, nor does anyone connected with the church appear to remember such a subject as having been in existence there. Portions of the old screens at Heavitree, Whimple, and Bradninch are now placed under the tower arch. All are of considerable interest, and will be referred to again presently.

On the other hand at Dodbrooke, Harberton, and Stokenham we find a brand new series of saints, some of which are said to be copies of what were formerly

visible. At Gidleigh are various saints, St. Louis, St. George, etc. apparently painted on paper and fixed over the old panels. The fine screens at Manaton and Staverton have recently been replaced in their respective churches after removal for restoration, while those at Ipplepen and Sherford have, within the last two or three years, been partially denuded of their brown paint, and furnish us with examples of named saints, which will shortly be more particularly described.

It is difficult to attribute any principle to the method of arrangement of the figures or subjects on the screens still remaining more or less as originally painted, and, as we find in the case of mural paintings, the selections were probably made to order to meet the requirements of those at whose expense they were executed. The apostles are usually portrayed, and it seems to have been not uncommon to display them alternately with the prophets, and in two or three instances exhibiting the several sentences of the Apostles' Creed. Thus, at Bovey Tracey, we get the apostles and prophets alternately without scrolls or emblems, St. Peter being distinguished by the tonsure and David by his crown, and the order is apparently the same as at Chudleigh, where we find ten each of the apostles and prophets, the former with sentences from the Creed, the latter with a verse from their sacred writings, and with the name inscribed below. The order of the apostles is as follows: Peter, Andrew, James major, John, Thomas, James minor, Philip, Bartholomew, Matthew, and Simon; Jude and Matthias, with the two last sentences, being now obliterated. The prophets are represented in the following order: Jeremiah, David, Isaiah, Zechariah, Oseas for Hosea, Amos, Malachi, Joel, Sophonias for Zephaniah, and Micah. At Kenton the whole series is represented with the scrolls, but without the names. The apostles are, perhaps, in the same order as at Chudleigh, but the prophets differ both in the order and selection. At Ipplepen the panels have been divested recently of the brown paint, and alternate figures of the apostles and prophets have again been brought to light, both the names and scrolls being given. The arrangement is not the same as that at Chudleigh, Moses and perhaps Nathan being introduced in the series of the prophets. There is a very interesting figure of Ezekiel, painted on a white ground. It is in excellent preservation, as it had escaped the treatment of the other panels, owing to its position behind the pulpit. At Bradninch and Stoke Gabriel part of a similar series has also been preserved. At Sherford, the north portion of the screen has recently been cleaned, and figures of six of the apostles, with their names and usual emblems, uncovered, viz. "Thade" (Jude) with a boat, Simon with saw, James minor with fuller's bat, Andrew with saltire, John with cup, and Peter with keys. St. Paul with the sword can also be identified on the opposite (south) side.

The doctors of the Western Church were also, as might be expected, often portrayed, but in many instances they seem to have suffered more seriously from repainting than the other figures, and their distinctive costumes have been cruelly misrepresented.

Another popular representation seems to have been the portraiture of the sibyls, a series of female figures with turbans and in curious flowing costumes, and generally of very late date, holding the implements of the Passion, or objects commemorating the earthly life of Our Lord. Both at Bradninch and Ugborough, two churches a long way apart, we find the full number of twelve of these figures, and those on the screen at Heavitree, which have been wrongly interpreted by Mr. Worthy, afford another illustration of this subject. At Bradninch we find them with the following emblems: (1) an iron crib, (2) a red rose, (3) a lantern, (4) a sword, (5) a scourge, (6) a hand, (7) a chalice or ewer and basin, (8) a tau cross, (9) a spear and ? sponge, (10) pincers and nails, (11) a horn, and (12) a cross and banner of St. George. At Ugborough the treatment is different, as we find the sibyls distinguished as follows: (1) with the crown of thorns, (2) a large cross, (3) a pillar, (4) a scourge, (5) three nails, (6) a lantern, (7) pincers and hammer, (8) a sword, (9) ? a lamp, (10) a taper, (11) an iron crib, (12) spear, sponge, and reed. Dr. Husenbeth, in his work on the *Emblems of Saints*, gives the emblems of the sibyls, eleven in number, as taken from an old French Prayer Book, of date 1514, which in most instances agree with these at Bradninch and Ugborough. Mrs. Jameson also, in *The History of Our Lord*,[a] gives an interesting account of these "heathen prophetesses," and on pages 250 and 251 their usual attributes in medieval art, which also correspond with these at Bradninch and Ugborough. Still, as the sibyls do not appear to be portrayed elsewhere in England, one might have paused and considered whether it would not be safer to designate these pictures merely as of female figures bearing emblems commemorating the Nativity, Passion, and Resurrection of Our Lord, but on one of the panels of the screen at Ipplepen, which was only relieved of its paint in 1896, is a similar female figure, in flowing costume, with the name "Sibilla" on a scroll below it, thus clearly confirming the identity of those at Bradninch and Ugborough, and rendering it probable that a representative sibyl is also included among some of the series on other screens, which have not yet been satisfactorily appropriated.

Before proceeding further to mention the saints and subjects which are met with, it will be convenient to give the following list, which comprises, it is believed,

[a] Vol. i. 245-258.

all the examples of screens occupying their original positions, and still retaining all or some of the panel paintings with which they have been enriched, in addition to those at Harberton, Dodbrooke, and Stokenham, where, as has already been stated, the figures are quite new, or have recently been thoroughly renovated. They are to be found in the following churches: Alphington, Ashton, Beer Ferrers, Berry Pomeroy, Blackawton, Bovey Tracey, Bradninch, Buckland-on-the-Moor, Chivelston, Chudleigh, Combe Martin, Dartmouth, Dittisham, Gidleigh, Hennock, Holne, Ipplepen, Kenn, Kenton, Manaton, South Milton, Plymtree, South Pool, Portlemouth, Sherford, Staverton, Stoke Gabriel, Tor Brian, Totnes, Ugborough, Widecombe-in-the-Moor, and Wolborough, and in the cathedral church of Exeter.

At Staverton the screen has been recently restored, and only one panel painting now remains, namely, of the head and shoulders of a figure, perhaps holding a scroll, and with an indistinct emblem, perhaps a cauldron, below on a red ground. It is of late date. At Totnes, as has been previously stated, only the outlines of some of the figures can be deciphered, and at Beer Ferrers, one of the most interesting churches in the county, where only a portion of the screen remains, the figures, which have been painted on a white ground, have been wilfully defaced. Some of them are clearly portraits of female saints, in two instances holding a scythe, no doubt intended to represent the popular Devonshire saint, Sidwell or Sativola, whom we find both on the screens and in glass in several of the churches.[a] On the main portion of the gorgeous screen at Dartmouth only a few of the apostles and some indistinct figures of confessors or other religious personages can now be made out. At Gidleigh the paintings on the panels are clearly the handiwork of a modern artist. We find a warrior and a king with fleurs-de-lis, probably intended for St. Louis, repeated on each side, a male saint carrying the Infant Christ in one hand and a lily in the other, presumably St. Joseph, and SS. Peter, Paul, and John the Baptist, with the evangelists on the doors. At the interesting example at Sherford already referred to only one-half of the screen has been relieved of its brown paint. At South Pool the screens have been recently

[a] On the chancel screen at Hennock, now almost concealed by the pulpit steps, are two female figures side by side, each holding a scythe, and that to the south with her head in her hand. This is alleged to be St. Sidwell, query who is the other? Although there is apparently no authority for the identification, it seems not improbable that the figure on the north is intended for St. Winifred, whose legend was very similar to that of St. Sidwell, and in whose honour the church of Manaton is dedicated. At Ashton both the saints are also depicted, with the same distinctive character as at Hennock. It has been suggested that one of the figures may be intended for St. Osyth, but there is no likelihood of her representation in Devonshire.

restored and partially renewed. They are of very late date and quite renaissance in their character. On some of the panels are painted in white on a red or green ground patterns of Italian design with various heads, some winged, with foliage and scrolls from the mouths, and with children and smaller figures introduced, also at the bottom of each panel a dragon on either side of a lily. The date cannot be earlier than 1530. At Blackawton the panels of the screens are similarly decorated. On some are also painted shields with the implements of the Passion; two on the north side have respectively the initials ꝁ and ꝧ ᵇⁱⁱⁱ, clearly showing that the screen was erected between the dates of the accession of Henry VIII. and Queen Katherine and their divorce in 1533. At Chivelston on some of the panels are similar arabesque patterns.

In the remaining churches, twenty-three in number, we still find the screens enriched with a goodly array of saints, many of whom are exceedingly rare, and in some instances it does not seem possible to ascertain their identity by a reference to any recorded examples. Many of the screens have figures without nimbus or emblem, which may portray some spiritual or temporal ruler living at the date of their erection. Thus at Portlemouth is a pope, possibly intended for the sovereign pontiff of that period, and archbishops, bishops, and crowned personages are comparatively common. A king with the badge of a white antelope, at Whimple, is clearly intended for Henry VI. At Plymtree on the doors of the screen is a representation of the Adoration of the Magi, the three wise men being alleged to be portrayed as a cardinal, prince, and king. In the work by the Rev. T. Mozley, entitled *Henry VII., Prince Arthur, and Cardinal Morton*, it is claimed that portraits of these illustrious personages are here represented. A bishop in the attitude of benediction on the adjoining panel is designated as Bishop Fox.[a]

It is probable also that the donor of the screen is occasionally introduced, one of the most likely instances being at Portlemouth, where on the doors is a figure kneeling with an angel on either side in attitude of adoration towards the two next panels, on which is depicted the subject of the coronation of the Blessed Virgin. In the drawing exhibited, the husband is shown on the north and the wife on the

[a] This contention is clearly erroneous. The bearded figure making the presentation to the Infant Christ cannot be intended to portray the cardinal. In the representations at Buckland-in-the-Moor and Ugborough, an almost identical figure is introduced, in each instance the crown being placed on the ground in front of him, and though at Plymtree no crown is now visible, it was without doubt originally depicted in a similar position.

south, but the latter has disappeared and her place is now occupied by the figure of St. Jerome.

Subjects represented on two or more panels are not uncommon, and were probably often portrayed on the doors, which in so many instances have been removed or brown painted over. Thus we find pictures of the Holy Trinity at Kenn; of the Annunciation at Ashton, Bradninch, Buckland-in-the-Moor, Hennock, Kenn, Plymtree, Ugborough, and Wolborough; of the Salutation at Ashton, Bradninch, Bridford, Combe Martin, and Plymtree; of the Adoration of the Magi at Buckland-in-the-Moor, Plymtree, and Ugborough; of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin at Ugborough; and of her Coronation at Holne, Portlemouth, and Tor Brian. The Beheading of St. John the Baptist is depicted at Ugborough, and the Temptation and Fall of Adam and Eve, and their Expulsion from the Garden of Eden at Bradninch; while on the screen under the tower at Bradninch is St. Francis receiving the *stigmata*, and at Ugborough are four panels portraying the Martyrdom of St. Sebastian.

Of the individual saints, as would be expected, figures of St. John the Baptist and St. Mary Magdalene are fairly common, and in one or two instances they appear twice on the same screen. St. Stephen is also comparatively in evidence, being occasionally introduced among the series of the apostles. SS. Sebastian and Roche seem also to have been held in high esteem, and pictures of SS. George, Laurence, and Erasmus occur in several instances. A mural painting of the Martyrdom of St. Erasmus in fairly good preservation may be seen on the wall of the south aisle of Axmouth Church. Of the female saints, most of those found on the Norfolk screens are represented in Devonshire, though SS. Catherine, Margaret, Dorothy, Sidwell, and Appollonia appear to have been the most popular. There are several saints mentioned in the *List of Buildings having Mural Decorations, etc.*, which have been recorded from private information supplied at the time that work was compiled, which do not seem capable of verification; for instance, St. Anastasia at Hennock, St. Dunstan at Heavitree and Holne, St. Nicholas at Holne and Manaton, St. Thomas of Canterbury at Holne and Wolborough. The figures to which these names are assigned are without distinctive emblems, and may possibly portray these several personages, though it would be hazardous so to denominate them without stronger evidence. At the fine screen of Berry Pomeroy are two female saints described as SS. Gudule and Veronica, the former, the patron saint of Brussels, carrying a lantern, which was her usual emblem. From the exuberance of their head-dresses they appear more probably to be intended for two of the sibyls, as, on the authority of Dr. Husenbeth and Mrs. Jameson, Sibilla Persica is

represented as carrying a lantern, and she is so portrayed on the screens at Bradninch and Ugborough. The appropriation of the following titles to the named saints on the screen at Wolborough, viz. SS. Aidan, Wulfstan, Honorius, Irenæus, Appollonia, Loys, Edward King and Confessor, and Hugh, will shortly be demonstrated to be erroneous. A figure described as St. Romuald, at Plymtree, does not agree in its treatment with two illustrations of that saint recorded in Husenbeth's *Emblems of Saints*.

An attempt having thus been made to give some general details in connection with the subject of these panel paintings it now remains to describe more fully, but without unduly prolonging this paper, a few of the most interesting screens, with brief observations on the rarer saints in the various instances in which they occur. It may be here stated that many of the saints are to be found in the ancient stained glass which has fortunately been preserved in many of the churches, though, unluckily, the names are wanting in the particular instances where they are required for the identification of the figures.

As we have an illustration before us of the fine screen at Portlemouth, executed by the late Mr. J. H. Steinmetz, and kindly lent by his daughter, and some photographs which the authorities at the South Kensington Museum have allowed to be exhibited this evening, it will be convenient to commence by describing this; but it may first be stated that since the date of the picture the church has undergone "restoration," and Mr. Steinmetz had grave doubts as to the treatment accorded to the screen during this critical period. Unfortunately his fears seem to have been justified, for though, on a visit to the church in 1894, the screen was found to be occupying its proper position, yet there has clearly been a general shuffling about of the figures, some of the panels shown in the drawing having disappeared, while others have been introduced in their place. The "restoration" of the screen at Manaton has been attended by the same results. The screen at Portlemouth extends across the nave and aisles, but the panels on the portions across the aisles are either new or brown painted over. On the main screen, starting from the north, is first a half panel with part of a male figure, not now capable of identification. Next comes a female saint in a white robe and red cloak holding a small object in her right hand, not clearly discernible. On the third panel is a male figure with white hair and beard, white tunic and red cloak, holding a church in his right hand. The saints enumerated by Husenbeth with this emblem do not seem to correspond with this particular figure, and it may perhaps be intended for St. Onolaus or Onslow, to whom the church is dedicated. The next figure is that of a pope richly vested, with the patriarchal cross in the left hand and a horn in

the right. This is probably St. Cornelius, who is thus represented in a window in Cossey Hall chapel, Norfolk. In the next compartment of the screen is first a pope holding the patriarchal cross, but without emblem or nimbus. He has the monogram IHC on the lower part of the alb, and one may conjecture that the sovereign pontiff of that date may be here depicted. On the next is the figure of a doctor holding what appears to be a boot. If this is so it is undoubtedly intended for Sir John Schorne, a personage one would hardly expect to find honoured in Devonshire, though, as will be shortly stated, he is clearly represented on the screens at Wolborough and Alphington. Next comes a bearded figure holding a closed scroll, and then a youthful figure with an open one, and these may be intended for St. Mark and St. John the Evangelist, a small lion being discernible by the side of St. Mark. In the arrangement as shown in Mr. Steinmetz's drawing they were not originally placed next to each other. On the doors is first a kneeling figure with an angel on either side, presumably the donor of the screen, then the Blessed Virgin crowned and within an aureole, and on the adjoining panel the Deity seated and in attitude of benediction, forming the subject of the Coronation of the Virgin, and then St. Jerome as a cardinal with a lion in the lower corner. This position was originally occupied by a panel painting of the wife of the donor, also kneeling between two angels, which in the rearrangement has disappeared. In the next compartment is first a female saint with palm in left hand and holding up her cloak with her right, perhaps intended for St. Dorothy, and next an ecclesiastic with the tonsure, clad in a black cloak and carrying a book and short sword, possibly St. Dominic or Peter Martyr. If so, this is the only panel painting of either of these saints recorded in England. Next comes a nun, also in black, with a crown of thorns, holding a heart in her right hand and an open book in her left. This is undoubtedly St. Catherine of Siena, a somewhat rare saint in England, though she is depicted on the screen at Tor Brian and at Horsham St. Faith's in Norfolk. Adjoining her is a king nimbed, but apparently without emblem. In the next compartment is a figure in a red cloak holding a crucifix, the emblem assigned to St. Bruno, but as he is not recorded as existing on any other screen in England, and was not canonised till the seventeenth century, this is more probably intended for St. Francis. On the next panel is St. Laurence holding the gridiron, and then a male saint holding a sword, and some doubtful object in his left hand; and lastly, St. Sebastian tied to a tree and pierced with several arrows. All the figures on this screen are painted on a green ground.

At Bradninch the screen across the nave and aisles is very interesting.

Besides the alternate figures of the apostles and prophets, and the twelve sibyls, there are representations of the Annunciation and Salutation, the Temptation of Adam and Eve, and their expulsion from the Garden of Eden. There is also a figure holding a jawbone and standing over a prostrate soldier, no doubt intended for Samson. The four doctors of the Western Church appear on the doors of the screen across the north aisle, and there are numerous royal personages and female saints whose identity it seems difficult or impossible to establish. Under the tower is part of another screen, formerly a portion of a parclose, with twelve panels of larger size and with larger figures than those on the main screen. First from the south is a female saint without distinctive emblem, next comes St. Christopher holding a tree, with the Infant Saviour in the attitude of benediction on his right shoulder. He is a very familiar figure in wall paintings, and new examples are still being brought to light, but in panel paintings he is rare, and only to be found elsewhere on the screens at Binham Abbey, Norfolk, and Roxton, Bedfordshire, and on the pulpit at Horsham St. Faith's, Norfolk. Another instance was reported as existing at Bluntisham, Huntingdonshire, but this was found to be a figure of St. John the Baptist painted over an earlier representation of the same saint, the head of the earlier and smaller portraiture having become visible through the later painting. On the next panel is a warrior in complete armour holding a large sword. He has light hair and an ermine cap with four scarlet plumes. There is a name below very faint, but apparently ending in "anus." Can this be intended for St. Adrian, who was one of the warrior saints, and whose named portrait appears on the screen at Wolborough? In the next compartment is first St. Giles with a fawn at his feet, then two kneeling monks at the foot of the cross, on which is our crucified Saviour with a halo round His head, and a broad stream of blood conveyed from His hands, side, and feet to the adjoining panel, on which is a kneeling figure of St. Francis, clad in a brown monastic habit and receiving the *stigmata*. At Kenn this subject is similarly represented, but on one panel. The crucifix in that instance has two pairs of wings. A figure at Tor Brian holding a book with a crucifix displayed on the back seems also intended for St. Francis, and the friar holding the crucifix at Portlemouth may also be intended for him. On the next three panels are interesting figures of St. Michael trampling on Satan, St. George on foot standing over the dragon, and St. Gabriel, with cross on his forehead, pink and white garment, green wings, and blowing a long horn, and with his name, **Gabrielus**, below. On the last three panels we find, first a female saint richly clad and with turban, but without emblem, then St. Sebastian in heraldic armour, with red cap and three feathers, holding a bow and three

arrows, and with the name **Sebastianus** very distinct below. He is similarly displayed at Kenton, with a coat of arms on his breastplate, apparently *gules, a cross between four fleurs-de-lis.* The last figure is a bishop or mitred abbot nimbed and with long pinky white vestment to the feet. May this be St. Bernard, or St Norbert, whom we shall shortly note as occurring elsewhere?

Another very fine screen is the one at Kenn, extending across the nave and aisles, and with its panel paintings in a good state of preservation. On the screen across the north aisle we have, starting from the north, first St. Sebastian tied to a stake, and with his body pierced by several arrows, then St. Roche showing the plague spot, with a dog leaping up to him, while a small angel is introduced pointing to the spot. Somewhat similar figures of him occur at Holne, Hennock, Whimple, and Plymtree; and, though not common, he is to be found in Norfolk and elsewhere in England. A figure at Wolborough assigned to him more probably represents St. John the Baptist. Next comes that of St. Francis, kneeling before a winged crucifix and receiving the *stigmata*, which has been previously referred to; and then a figure in red, with short hair, but of feminine character, to whom is appearing a stag with the crucifix between its horns. Although the costume is not that of a hunter, St. Hubert is here clearly portrayed. The only other recorded panel painting of him is on the screen at Litcham, in Norfolk, and there are said to be representations of him in wall paintings, all of more or less doubtful character, at Ingham, Norfolk; Oakley, Buckinghamshire; Aldermaston, Berkshire; Idsworth, Hampshire; and Lenham, Kent. On the doors, the paintings of St. Peter, the Annunciation, and an evangelist, are modern. Then come four of the apostles, namely, SS. Matthias, Bartholomew, Jude, and Simon. On the main screen we find SS. Andrew, James major, John, Thomas, Philip, James minor, Stephen, and Laurence; and on the doors a cardinal, pope, confessor, and bishop, each holding a scroll, and doubtless portraying the four doctors of the Western Church. Next we have St. Ursula holding two arrows and with her maidens around her, St. Dorothy with basket, St. Barbara with tower, St. Appollonia holding a tooth and a pair of pincers, and St. Anne instructing the Virgin, the only panel painting in Devonshire of this beautiful subject. At Tor Brian is a female figure holding a triple crown, which, according to Husenbeth, should also be a portraiture of this saint. Next comes a female saint, not crowned, holding a palm and open book, forming part of the preceding subject, and then a crowned figure with large one-armed cross, probably St. Helena, and last, an almost naked female figure, with long hair, having an open book and three small circular objects, query loaves, in her hand. This is probably St. Mary of Egypt, who is also to be seen on the

screen at North Walsham, in Norfolk, but not, it is believed, elsewhere in England. The column of the nave arcade, separating the main screen from that across the south aisle, has been panelled over. The upper portion has had a coat of varnish, now removed, but on the centre of the lower part is a representation of the Holy Trinity, while on either side is the Archangel Gabriel on the north, and the Blessed Virgin Mary on the south, with the usual scrolls, forming the subject of the Annunciation.

On the south aisle screen, commencing from the north, is an abbess crowned and in black vestments, holding a scroll, and with a dove hovering near her head. This is probably intended for St. Bridget. A similar figure, with the name **Brigida** below, remains on the screen at Horsham St. Faith's, Norfolk. Next comes another female saint, holding a closed book and large arrow, probably St. Christina, who is thus represented on the rood-screen at Eye, Suffolk. Then we have a female saint holding what may be a candle in her right hand and closed book in her left, with an angel by her head and a demon above her. This is probably St. Geneviève, who is mentioned as being depicted on the former screen at King's Teignton, and there may also be representations of her on the screens at Babingley and Horsham St. Faith's, Norfolk. Next to her comes St. Sidwell, holding a scythe in her right hand and a female head in her left. She is similarly portrayed on the screen at Plymtree. On the doors are SS. John, Luke, Matthew, and Mark with their emblems. On the last four panels are, first a female saint with scourge and holding a demon, probably St. Juliana, next an abbess not crowned, holding a crosier, and perhaps a taper. This may be St. Etheldreda or Scholastica. Then comes a female saint holding a palm, and (?) wooden crib, perhaps St. Faith, and then St. Veronica exhibiting the holy veil, impressed with the countenance of our Blessed Redeemer. It may be worth noting that this screen appears to be the only one in Devonshire where a correct division between the male and female saints seems to have been made, the former being depicted to the north, and the latter to the south, of the central doors.

Besides the screen a large panel is preserved in the church. On this are, on the upper part, two female figures about three feet high, richly vested; the one holds a large sword, the other a dove. They suggest emblematical representations of War and Peace, but part of a wheel behind the first figure proves her to be St. Catherine. Below are the nimbed heads of two other figures; the lower part of the panel having been destroyed. On the nimbus of one of them are inscribed the words, **Ave Maria Magdalene.** The date appears to be about 1500.

At Whimple two portions of a very fine screen were discovered under the

floor, and are now fixed to the piers of the west tower arch. On the south side, from the east, is (1) a king, not nimbed, holding the orb in right hand and sceptre in left, and with the white antelope chained at his feet, probably intended for Henry VI.; (2) St. Sidwell with long hair and scythe and carrying a head in her hand; (3) St. Roche as a pilgrim with staff, showing the plague spot, with a dog bringing him a small loaf in its mouth; an angel kneels below him; (4) a female saint with tower and large cross, probably St. Barbara. On north side from west (1) St. Sebastian tied to a tree and pierced by seventeen arrows; (2) St. Clement with patriarchal cross and anchor; (3) St John the Baptist with lamb on a book; (4) St. Appollonia with large tooth in a forceps. All the panels except those with the paintings of SS. Roche and Sebastian have buildings with windows, etc. in the background. The figures are from 27 to 31 inches high. The paintings are well done and in good preservation.

At Alphington, where the screen has been recently restored, are paintings of the apostles and several other saints, some exceedingly rare. On the north panel, across the north aisle, is a nimbed figure habited as a doctor, and holding a large boot, whence the head of a demon is emerging. This is no doubt a portraiture of Sir John Schorne, who will be noticed as occurring at Wolborough, and who may also be in the series at Portlemouth. In the two southern panels of the main chancel screen is St. Dunstan holding the devil by the nose with a pair of pincers, the only undoubted example in Devonshire. St. Francis showing the *stigmata* and St. Denys carrying his head appear on the portion across the south aisle. There is also on the screen across the north aisle a female saint holding a circular object, probably a millstone. This is no doubt intended for St. Christina, though at the neighbouring church at Kenn, the same saint is probably portrayed, holding a large arrow. There is another unusual figure, viz. of an ecclesiastic bareheaded, with black cassock, white cloak and cape, and crosier. This was probably intended to portray St. Norbert, or possibly St. Gilbert of Sempringham.

At Ashton is a very nice screen across the nave and north aisle (Plate IX.), with a goodly array of saints in the panels on the western face, including the Blessed Virgin with the Infant Saviour, the doctors of the Western Church, St. Clement, who only occurs elsewhere at Whimple on the Devonshire screens, St. Leodegar holding a mallet, as in the example at Wolborough, St. Blaise, who may also be seen at Manaton, SS. Petronilla, Sidwell, Anthony, who may also be portrayed at Kenton and Plymtree, and many other saints. The east side of this screen, and both sides of the screen dividing the north chapel from the chancel, have also been decorated, on panels 32 inches high by about 35 inches wide, with large half figures with

PAINTED ROODSCREEN IN ASHTON CHURCH, DEVONSHIRE.

varied hats and caps and flowing garments depicted on them in white on a red ground (Plate X.) In connection with each figure is a scroll, on which is, in black letter, a text referring to the birth of Christ and of St. John the Baptist. On the doors of the screen between the aisle and chapel is a representation of the Annunciation, and, on the chancel side of the screen between chapel and chancel, the Salutation. The painting here is very well done, and the figures throughout are better in their execution than in most of the other examples.

At Buckland-in-the-Moor, on the east face of the chancel screen, are somewhat similar paintings to those at Ashton, namely, two large figures on the doors, with a figure adoring a king on the north and a judge and warrior on the south. On the west face on the north side are the Adoration of the Magi and the Annunciation. These paintings are very well done and in good preservation. At the time of a visit in 1890 they were boarded over, and a screwdriver had to be requisitioned before they could be again brought to light. On the doors and the south side are the apostles, some of which have been obliterated by the squire of the parish, who did not like to see them in his family pew, which is placed against the screen.

At Ugborough the screen is also of great interest. Besides the twelve sibyls are several rare saints, some of which can hardly be identified. There are also represented here the Annunciation, Adoration of the Magi, Assumption of the Virgin, Martyrdom of St. Sebastian and St. John the Baptist. In the subject of the Adoration of the Magi, the third of the wise men has evidently been repainted, and now appears in trunk hose with a sword in right hand and head in the left. There are one or two other figures of this same late date, and in the subject of the Martyrdom of St. Sebastian the costumes of the soldiers, who are shooting at him, are very remarkable. At Manaton are several figures of equally late character with those at Ugborough.

At Tor Brian is another very fine screen extending across the nave and aisles. On the panels across the north aisle are three archbishops not nimbed, a female saint with book in both hands, and SS. Margaret, Laurence, Francis, and probably St. Victor of Marseilles, represented as a warrior holding a windmill. He also occurs at Wolborough. On the main screen is St. Paul, eleven apostles, and the four evangelists, with the Coronation of the Virgin on the doors. Across the south aisle is first an abbot in white, query St. Bernard, then St. Barbara with tower, then an aged female with red cloak holding a triple crown, perhaps St. Anne, and then St. Catherine of Siena. On the doors are first St. Dorothy with a chaplet of flowers and basket in her right hand, and then a deacon, holding

two cups and napkin and book. This is probably St. Vincent. A similar figure appears in glass at Doddiscombeleigh, adjoining SS. Stephen, Lawrence, and another deacon, and on the screens at Kenton, and possibly also at Plymtree. Next comes a female figure, not nimbed, with turban, and holding a large cross, which may be a representative sibyl, and then St. Petronilla, with keys attached to a ribbon. On the last compartment is, first, a nimbed male figure holding a ladder, next a female saint carrying a chalice, query St. Lucia, then St. Sebastian pierced by arrows, and then a deacon with red dalmatic over a black vestment and holding a demon by a chain. Many of the rare saints on this screen also appear, as will shortly be mentioned, on the one at Wolborough.

There are many interesting figures on the screens at Manaton, Hennock, Widecombe-in-the-Moor, Holne, and Berry Pomeroy, as well as at Kenton and Plymtree, all of which are set out in order in the Appendix to this paper. It is unadvisable to unduly prolong this subject, and therefore, in conclusion, the fine screen, or rather series of screens, at Wolborough, perhaps the most interesting of all those now remaining, may be briefly described. Here we find the screens not only extending across the nave and aisles, but also returned towards the west, so as to enclose shallow transepts or parcloses at the east end of the aisles. There appear to have been in all seventy-six panels, a larger number than can be found, ornamented with figures of saints, in any other church in England. On the west face of the screen enclosing the north transept is a crowned female figure with crosier, then a female saint holding a bunch of flowers, perhaps St. Cecilia, then a youthful male saint carrying a ladder, similar to the one at Tor Brian. This is designated by Mr. Worthy as Jacob, but it is hardly likely that Jacob would be represented with the nimbus; then comes an abbess in white, and then a canon or monk in white holding a plain cross, probably St. Norbert or Bernard. On the south face of this screen are SS. James minor, Stephen, Paul, Bartholomew, and Andrew; the three panels on the doors are brown painted over, and then come SS. James major, Thomas, Matthew, Simon, and Philip. Four panels between transept and chapel have no figures. The figures on the screens across the north aisle and nave are particularly interesting, as the names of the saints are inscribed on the panels, though the eccentricity of the spelling makes it difficult in many cases to identify the respective figures. It may here be stated that this screen has not only suffered from the usual neglect, but still more from the hands of the well-intentioned "restorer," and many of the panels have been repainted by an amateur artist, whose knowledge was not sufficiently developed to entitle him to deal with so delicate a subject. Indeed, Mr. Worthy, who has given a full account of this

screen in his *Devonshire Parishes*, asserts that many of the figures have been entirely altered, and it may be that some of the instances in which the account here given differs from his interpretation of the various saints may be due to this cause. Commencing from the north of the screen across the north aisle, we have first an archbishop habited in white holding a cross, and with name in black letter, **S Willis e,** no doubt for St. William, archbishop of York. He does not occur elsewhere in Devonshire, but a wall painting of him still remains at St. Alban's abbey, and his portrait in stained glass at North Tuddenham, in Norfolk; and he was also depicted on the screen at Garboldisham in the same county. Next comes an abbess, also in white vestments, with crosier and name above, **S audiri eli,** for St. Etheldreda, abbess of Eli. On the adjoining panel is a nun in white, writing in a book, and alleged to be carrying a loaf. Above is a name, **S gidn,** or perhaps **gtdn,** and it may be, as stated by Mr. Worthy, St. Gertrude of Nivelle. She is a very rare saint, but she has also been noted on the screens at Hennock, in Devonshire, and Babingley, Norfolk. Next is a crowned female figure with large arrow in her right hand, and numerous small figures in the folds of her dress, with name above, **S ulsala,** for St. Ursula. Next comes a crowned abbess with large cross, and name above, **S ilina,** for St. Helena. Then we have St. Sidwell with scythe, but the name is hidden by some new cusps added to the canopy of the panel. Next comes a crowned female figure with sword, trampling on a crowned and bearded figure, name above, partially effaced, **S katrin,** of course for St. Catherine trampling upon Maximin. On the last panel is another female saint with chaplet of roses, holding a basket in her hand, and with name above, **S dorothi** for St. Dorothy. On the chancel screen is first a figure in white doctor's habit, not nimbed, holding a large boot in the left hand, whence a demon is emerging. The name above is **Bā Scorn,** for Sir John Schorne, whom we find in Norfolk and Suffolk, but should hardly expect to come across in Devonshire. As has been stated, there is also a portraiture of him at Alphington, and probably at Portlemouth. Next comes a figure in white holding a large wooden shovel, or, as it is called, a baker's peel. There is the name above, **S obrith,** and it is somewhat puzzling as to who is portrayed here. Mr. Worthy calls him Honorius, who was the patron saint of bakers, but it seems difficult to reconcile the inscription with the name of this saint. It is more probably intended for St. Aubert, a bishop of Cambray in the seventh century, who is thus represented with a baker's peel in a window of Ghent cathedral church, but is not recorded elsewhere in England. Next we have a crowned figure with flowing robes holding a jar and spoon, and a name above, **S cosmo,** for St. Cosmos, and on the adjoining panel his brother

physician, St. Damian, with cap, and holding a bottle, and name above, S damiane. Next comes a figure in civilian attire, and with short tunic, holding a large oar, and with name above, S geliane. This is St. Julian Hospitator, of whom we have one more similar representation in England, namely, on the screen at Suffield, in Norfolk. On the adjoining panel is a nun with open book and crosier, and name above, S maure, for St. Maura, a saint of whom there is no other recorded representation in this country. Then comes a youthful figure in short tunic and round hat, carrying a bundle of sticks, with name above, saac, for Isaac, and then a stately figure richly vested with turban and sword in right hand; name above, abraha, for Abraham. Both these figures have been repainted, and it is singular that they should be introduced among this series of rare saints. On the doors are two archbishops and two abbots, also repainted, and it is suggested that these figures have been delineated over portraits of the four doctors of the Western Church, who would appropriately occupy this situation. To the south of the doors is first a youthful figure not nimbed, holding a semi-hexagonal object, perhaps an anvil. His name, S adriane, appears above Although he was a very popular saint he does not seem to be represented elsewhere in England, unless the doubtful figure at Bradninch, as previously mentioned, may be intended to portray him. The next figure is that of a bishop richly vested, with a large mallet or hammer in his left hand, and some other object in his right. The name above, S leodegare, proves him to be St. Leodegar or Leger, bishop of Autun in France, another popular saint, though rarely found in England. His portrait may be seen on the screens at Ashton, Devonshire, and Woodbridge, Suffolk, and in a wall painting at Wilburton, Cambridgeshire. Next comes another of the warrior saints, namely, a soldier with red cap, exhibiting a wound on his right side, and holding the arm and sail of a windmill in his left hand. The name above, S victor, proves him to be St. Victor of Marseilles, not previously noted as being portrayed in England, but there is another example of the same saint holding a windmill on the screen at Tor Brian. The adjoining figure is also an uncommon one. He has white vestments, and by his right ear is a white dove holding a basket in its beak. This might be taken to represent Elijah, but above is a name partially effaced, S pai. Mr. Worthy calls him St. Hugh, but he is more probably St. Paul the first hermit, one of whose attributes was a raven bringing him a loaf. The fact of a dove being here portrayed instead of a raven is only another instance of the divergence from the more usual emblems displayed in connection with the saints on these Devonshire screens. There is no other recorded example of a portrait of St. Paul the first

hermit in England. The figures on the next four panels completing the chancel screen have no distinctive emblems or names, and all bear evidence of renovation.

On the screen across the south aisle is, first, a female saint crowned and holding a cup and book. Similar representations of this saint occur on other screens, and it is not clear as to who is here intended. It seems to be either St. Lucia or Joan of Valois, the latter perhaps being the more probable, as in this instance the figure is crowned. Next we find a female saint bare to the waist and with her arms tied behind her back. This would appear to be St. Agatha or Agnes, though the treatment does not accord with other English examples. Next comes St. Barbara with her tower, and then a female with turban, holding a large tau cross, either St. Helen or a representative sibyl. The four figures on the doors, one St. Veronica, have been renewed. On the next panel is a figure with red cap and vestment, holding a staff with circular object at the top. This is considered by Mr. Worthy to be St. Jerome, though the costume does not seem to be that of a cardinal. The next figure has also a red cap, crosier, and fetter on the right arm, and probably portrays St. Leonard. Adjoining this is the portraiture of a female saint carrying what appears to be a large broom, apparently intended for St. Petronilla. She is usually represented with a key and book, and is so portrayed on the screens at Plymtree and Ashton, and in all probability at Kenton. Next comes a figure in white, with soft cap, holding two short swords or daggers in his hand. This, according to Husenbeth, should be St. Olave or Edward King and Martyr. Next comes an ecclesiastic in red cap and vestments, holding a closed book, with napkin or stole on his arm. This may be St. Paul of Constantinople, a saint not represented elsewhere in England. Mr. Worthy states that he is carrying a blue book, and it is interesting to find this official volume in use at so early a period.

On the south transept screen the doors are gone, but the next five panels represent the Annunciation and SS. Elizabeth and John the Baptist. The last five on the west face of this screen are very indistinct. No. 2 is apparently a cardinal, and No. 3 a warrior with banner, having a black cross on a red ground, probably St. George, in spite of the difference of the heraldic device on the banner. No. 5 is an ecclesiastic holding a windlass, no doubt St. Erasmus, though he is not wearing a mitre.

Such are the details of the screens at Wolborough, which are certainly amongst the most interesting of those still remaining to us in Devonshire or elsewhere. The church at Wolborough was one of the early possessions of Torre Abbey, and there can be little doubt that the canons were responsible for the erection and

painting of the screen, and it may possibly have been executed by a resident in the monastery. The abbey of Torre is stated to have been the wealthiest of the houses of the Premonstratensian order existing in this country, and it is most probable that one of the figures in white vestments on the northern portion of the screen, which has not been satisfactorily identified, may be intended to portray St. Norbert, the founder of this particular order. On the last panel of the screen at Tor Brian, where there have been shown to be many very uncommon saints, which also only occur at Wolborough, is a figure of an ecclesiastic leading a demon by a chain, which according to Husenbeth might also be identified as St. Norbert, though the vestments in this case do not seem appropriate to him. There can therefore be little doubt that the screen at Wolborough was at least presented to the church by the abbey to which the church belonged. Indeed it is asserted, though there is no documentary evidence to substantiate the theory, that to the influence of the canons at Torre and the monks of the neighbouring abbey of Buckfast we are indebted for the execution of all these screens with their most interesting series of painted panels. The number, and rarity of many, of the saints depicted, and the variation of the emblems attached to the divers examples of the several saints, is a proof of the ingenuity and fertility of design possessed by the artists, and their unwillingness in these, as in other architectural matters, to follow any stereotyped example in portraying the figures or subjects they were instructed to carry out. As has been stated, the dates of almost all the screens range from 1480 to 1540. Most of them seem to belong to the reign of Henry VII., whose popularity in the west of England appears to have given a wonderful stimulus to church building, more particularly in the counties of Devon and Somerset, and thus even in the most remote districts we find the majority of the churches to have been reconstructed at this period, and though perhaps simple in their architecture, yet possessing in their screens, stained glass, etc. ample evidence of that artistic taste which we may well imitate in these more enlightened days.

It seems perhaps hazardous to put forward a theory which is unsupported by practical evidence, but it appears to be not improbable that towards the end of the fifteenth century a screen was introduced into one of these Devonshire churches, either at the instance of the abbot of Torre or through some influence introduced either from abroad or from the Eastern Counties of England, where the panel paintings are as a rule earlier than those in Devonshire, and that the idea, as we say nowadays, caught on, so that within a few years every church which could obtain one was furnished with one of these interesting screens. It is possible that, as in the case of the St. John's Heads, which by the research of Mr. W. H. St. John

Hope have been ascertained to have been sent out in considerable quantities from workshops at Nottingham, so in the case of the screens some enterprising artist in the construction of church furniture formed a school of carving and painting, whence were supplied to the various churches these interesting relics of the art of this period. It seems hardly possible that except under some systematic arrangement of this kind so large a number of screens elaborately carved and artistically painted, and exhibiting such similarity of treatment, could have been executed within so limited a period. It will be interesting if any entries in the old churchwardens' accounts remaining in respect to any of the churches can be adduced to support this theory.

It is sad to note that mistaken zeal and negligence have combined to injure, and in many instances entirely to destroy, these proofs of the generosity and piety of a bygone and artistic age, and it is hoped that the examples which still remain to us may be carefully conserved by those who are responsible for their custody and preservation, and that in the future we may not hear of the screens or other church furniture being removed from the churches, or of the paintings being varnished over or effaced, in deference to the prejudices of the patrons or other interested persons. At any rate we may hope that the record, however incomplete, of the examples of this little-noticed subject of the panel paintings on the screens may increase the interest taken in them and create a desire to preserve these objects, which form so distinctive a feature in many of the Devonshire churches.

APPENDIX.

A List of Devonshire Screens still or till recently remaining with Figures of Saints, Sacred Subjects, and Arabesque Patterns, depicted or sculptured on the Panels.

ALPHINGTON.

Screen across nave and aisles.

North aisle screen, from north:

(1) Sir John Schorne.
(2) St. Helen.
(3) St. Christina.
(4) An ecclesiastic. ? St. Norbert, or St. Gilbert of Sempringham.

Panels of the doors new.

(1) Gone.
(2) St. Stephen.
(3) St. Appollonia.
(4) Gone.

On main screen from north:

(1) St. John the Baptist.
(2) St. Dorothy.
(3) An apostle.
(4) St. James Minor.
(5) St. Peter.
(6) ? St. Andrew.
(7) An apostle.
(8) ? St. Jude.

Panels of the doors new.

(1) ? St. James Major.
(2) St. Matthew or Thomas.

ALPHINGTON—*continued.*

(3) St. John the Evangelist.
(4) An apostle.
(5) St. Simon.
(6) St. Philip or Mathias.
(7) } St. Dunstan and
(8) } The devil.

Screen across south aisle from north:

(1) Effaced.
(2) A bishop.
(3) Effaced.
(4) Effaced.

Panels of the doors new.

(1) St. Francis.
(2) A female saint.
(3) St. Denis.
(4) A female saint.

ASHBURTON.

Screen, removed, formerly had figures of the apostles on the panels, sculptured in relief and painted.

C. Worthy, *Ashburton and its Neighbourhood*, 11.

ASHTON.

Screen across nave and north aisle, and between north chapel and chancel.

On the chapel side between chancel and chapel. From east:

(1) Prophet with scroll, "Maria Virgo, concipiet."

(2) Prophet with scroll, "Et vocabitur Emanuell."

(3) Prophet with scroll, "Surgite nolite timere."

(4) Prophet with scroll, "Lex per Moisem signata est."

(5) Prophet with scroll, "Et procete per Elyam."

On east face of aisle screen:

(1) Prophet with scroll, "Celi apti . . . ."

On the doors, "The Annunciation."

(2) Prophet with scroll, "Omnes resurgant novissima tuba."

On chancel side of screen between chancel and chapel. On east:

(1) The Salutation with scroll, "Et exultavit infans in utero eius."

(2) A prophet with scroll, "Elizabeth sterilis peperit."

(3), (4), (5) A prophet with scroll, inscriptions obliterated.

On east side of chancel screen:

Five prophets with scrolls, the inscriptions obliterated.

On west face of screen on portion across north aisle. From north:

(1) St. Gregory.

(2) St. Jerome.

(3) St. Ambrose.

(4) St. Augustine.

On the doors:

(1) St. Petronilla.

(2) St. Michael and Satan.

(3) St. Dorothy.

ASHTON—*continued.*

(4) St. Clement.

then (1) St. Mark.

(2) St. Matthew.

(3) St. Luke.

(4) St. John the Evangelist.

On main screen, from north:

(1) ? St. Erasmus.

(2) Female saint with scimitar.

(3) St. Stephen.

(4) St. Sidwell.

(5) ? St. Blaise.

(6) St. Catherine.

(7) Archbishop.

(8) St. Margaret.

On the doors:

(1) St. John the Baptist.

(2) The Virgin and Child.

(3) St. George.

(4) St. Mary Magdalene.

then (1) St. Anthony.

(2) St. Ursula.

(3) St. Leodegar.

(4) St. Appollonia.

(5) A bishop.

(6) St. Lawrence.

(7) St. Sebastian.

(8) ? St. Sidwell or St. Winifred.

Oliver's *Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Devon*, i. 195; *Transactions of the Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society* (2nd Series), ii. 96; *Ecclesiologist*, xx. 286; Murray's *Handbook for Devonshire.*

BAMPTON.

In central compartments of screen, subjects emblematical of the Passion.

Oliver's *Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Devon*, i. 169.

Not now visible.

BEER FERRERS.

Several female saints, all wilfully defaced;

BEER FERRERS—*continued.*

two are holding a scythe, one being St. Sidwell.

Archæological Journal, i. 399.

BERRY POMEROY.

Main chancel screen, from north:

(1) A king.
(2) Almost obliterated.
(3) A female holding a lantern, ? St. Gudule or a sibyl.
(4) St. Mary Magdalene, or a sibyl.
(5)
(6) A group of four figures, ? the Evangelists.
(7)
(8)
(9) ? St. Jude or St. John the Baptist.
(10) St. James Minor.
(11) ? St. Stephen.
(12) St. Thomas.

The doors are gone.

then (1) St. James Major.
(2) ? St. Simon.
(3) St. Bartholomew.
(4) Figure with oar, ? St. Jude.
(5)
(6) Another quartette, ? the doctors of the Church.
(7)
(8)
(9) ? St. Mary Magdalene.
(10) ? Female saint.
(11) St. Veronica, or a sibyl.
(12) Defaced.

Lysons' *Magna Britannia, Devonshire*, cccxxvii.; C. Worthy, *Ashburton and its Neighbourhood*, 120; Worth *Tourists' Guide to South Devon*, 57.

BLACKAWTON.

Screen across nave, and between chancel and chapels:

Arabesque patterns and shields; that on the second panel from the north has on it a "k"; that on the fourth "h^{viii}".

BLACKAWTON—*continued.*

On the other shields are the implements of the Passion, viz. the Cross, Crown of Thorns, Hammer, and Dice, and the letters "D" and "O".

Photographs in the South Kensington Museum.

BOVEY TRACEY.

On screen across north aisle, from north:

(1) Faint figure.
(2) Do.
(3) Crown painted.
(4) Do.

Doors gone.

then (1) An apostle with tonsure, St. Peter.
(2) A prophet.
(3) An apostle.
(4) A prophet.

On screen across the nave, from north:

(1) (3) (5) (7) Apostles, (3) as a young man, is no doubt St. John
(2) (4) (6) (8) Prophets.

On the doors:

A modern representation of the Annunciation, with St. John the Evangelist and Elizabeth.

then (1) (3) (5) (7) Apostles.
(2) (4) (6) (8) Prophets.

On screen across south aisle:

(1) and (3) Apostles.
(2) and (4) Prophets.

Doors gone.

The next four are obliterated.

Worth, *Tourists' Guide to South Devon*, 75.

BRADNINCH.

Screen, now placed under the tower arch, from the south:

(1) A female figure.
(2) St. Christopher.
(3) ? St. Adrian.
(4) St. Giles
(5) Our Lord on the Cross.
(6) St. Francis.

BRADNINCH—*continued.*

(7) St. Michael and Satan.
(8) St. George and the Dragon.
(9) St. Gabriel.
(10) A female figure.
(11) St. Sebastian.
(12) A bishop.

Main screen across nave and aisles:

On screen across north aisle, from the north:

Eight panels, with alternate apostles and prophets.

On the doors:

The Doctors of the Church; then

Four of the sibyls.

On main screen:

On first eight panels, the sibyls.

On the doors:

(1) (2) } The Annunciation.

(3) (4) } The Salutation.

then (1) (2) } The Temptation and Fall of Man.

(3) (4) } The Expulsion from Paradise.

(5) Samson.
(6) A female saint.
(7) A civilian.
(8) A king.

On screen across south aisle:

(1) Male figure with box in his hand.
(2) Female figure with partly open book.
(3) Female figure with open book.
(4) Male figure with book.

On the doors:

Four figures with books.

hen Four kings and civilians without emblems.

Transactions of the Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society (2nd Series), ii. 96; *Ecclesiologist*, xxviii. (xxv. New Series) 308.

BRIDFORD.

Screen across nave and north aisle, and between chancel and north chapel.

On panels of screen between chancel and north chapel, on the chapel side, are painted three large subjects; one may be the Salutation.

On the door of the main screen on the chancel side is the figure of a king giving the benediction.

The screen across the aisle is divided into three compartments of four panels each; that across the nave into three compartments of four panels each, besides the doors, and the pulpit which occupies the south side.

On the panels are sculptured and painted figures of twenty-four apostles and prophets, in addition to four figures in the first compartment on the north, which are modern, and there are four more figures on the south of main doors, viz.:

(1) A confessor.
(2) A kneeling figure holding foliage.
(3) A figure holding ? a rosary.
(4) A figure holding a key.

N.B.—These last two are not ecclesiastics.

The screen is very late and quite Italian in style.

Oliver's *Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Devon*, ii. 132; *Transactions of the Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society*, iv. 166; Murray's *Handbook of Devonshire*; W. H. H. Rogers, *The ancient Sepulchral Effigies, etc. in Devon*, 208

BROADCLIST.

"About thirty years since a screen, painted and gilt, extended across the church so as to include one bay of the aisles in the chancel division; its panels were adorned with paintings, and an old inhabitant remembers amongst the subjects our Saviour discoursing with the woman of Samaria."

Transactions of the Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society, iii. 55.

BUCKLAND IN THE MOOR.

Chancel screen, west face.

BUCKLAND IN THE MOOR—*continued.*

From north:

(1)
(2)
(3)
(4) } The Adoration of the Magi.

(5) The Archangel Gabriel
(6) The Lily Pot } The Annunciation.
(7) St. Mary the Virgin

(8) St. Simon.

On the doors:

(1) ? St. Philip.
(2) St. Bartholomew.
(3) St. Thomas.
(4) St. Andrew.

On next six panels, apostles, effaced.

(7) St. Paul.
(8) St. Matthias.

On east face, three large subjects:

On north, a figure of a civilian kneeling before a king.

On the doors, a grotesque figure with horn, holding up his hand towards a monk with a bleeding wound on his head.

On south, a civilian wearing a turban, looking towards a soldier with battle-axe, and holding his tilting helm in his right hand.

C. Worthy, *Ashburton and its Neighbourhood*, 53; *Transactions of the Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society* (2nd Series), v. 239.

CHIVELSTON.

Screens across nave and aisles and between chancel and chapels.

On both sides of the screens between chancel and chapels are arabesque patterns painted in white on a chocolate ground.

On screen across north aisle are two compartments, each containing four panels with arabesque patterns. The doors are gone.

CHIVELSTON—*continued.*

On chancel screen, from north:

(1) A bishop, ? St. Ambrose.
(2) A cardinal, St. Jerome.
(3) St. Luke.
(4) St. Thomas.
(5) St. Andrew.
(6) St. Simon.
(7) St. James Major.
(8) St. John, Evangelist.

The doors are gone. Then

(1) St. Philip.
(2) St. Bartholomew.
(3) St. Stephen or Barnabas.
(4) St. Jude.
(5) St. James Minor.
(6) St. Mark.
(7) St. Matthew.
(8) A pope, probably St. Gregory.

Across the south aisle:

Two compartments of four panels each, decorated with arabesque patterns; two with the merchant's mark and monogram of the donor of the screen.

Photographs in the South Kensington Museum.

CHUDLEIGH.

Main chancel screen.

Alternate apostles with sentences of the Creed, and prophets with scrolls, viz. from north:

(1) Petrus.
(2) Jeremias.
(3) Andreas.
(4) Davit.
(5) Jacobus Major.
(6) Ysaias
(7) Joħnes, Evangeł.
(8) Zacharias.

On the doors:

(1) Thome.
(2) Oseas.
(3) Jacob.
(4) Amos.

then (1) Philipp^{9}.

CHUDLEIGH—*continued.*

(2) Malachia.
(3) Bartholom's.
(4) Joel.
(5) Matheus.
(6) Sophon's.
(7) Symon.
(8) Mychias.

M. Jones's *History of Chudleigh*, 84-87; Murray's *Handbook for Devonshire.*

COMBE MARTIN.

Screen across nave and north aisle.
On screen across north aisle, from north:
1st compartment (1) and (2) traces of figures defaced.
2nd compartment (1) (2) and (3) defaced.
2nd compartment (4) probably St. Helen.
On the doors:
(1) ? St. Elizabeth. } ? the Salutation.
(2) ? The Blessed Virgin. }
(3) Defaced female figure.
(4) ? St. Barbara.
then (1) St. Dorothy.
(2) St. Appollonia.
(3) St. Margaret.
(4) A female saint.
(5) Another female saint defaced.
On main chancel screen:
(1) St. James Major.
(2) St. Bartholomew.
(3) St. James Minor.
(4) St. Jude.
(5) Apostle.
(6) Do.
On the doors:
(1) St. Peter.
(2) Our Blessed Saviour.
(3) St. John Evangelist.
(4) St. Paul.
then (1) A male saint.
(2) Blank.
(3) St. Matthias.

COMBE MARTIN—*continued.*

(4) St. Simon.
(5) Brown painted over.
(6) Do.

Transactions of the Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society, ii. 83; Worth's *Tourist Guide to North Devon*, 29; Stewart's *North Devon Handbook*, 28, 180.

DARTMOUTH.

Screen across nave and aisles.
Across north aisle:
Figures discernible through the brown paint.
On main chancel screen:
First compartment, four confessors or doctors.
then (5) St. Bartholomew.
(6) St. Philip.
(7) St. Thomas.
(8) Defaced.
Panels of doors, new: then
(1) ? St. James Major.
(2) St. Andrew.
(3) St. Jude.
(4) (?)
(5) St. Matthias.
(6) Probably an Evangelist.
(7) } Not decipherable.
(8) }
Across south aisle:
First compartment and doors brown painted over; south compartment concealed by a pew.
The figures on the main screen are alleged to have been painted by the father of the late vicar.
A figure of St. Anne is mentioned in C. Worthy's *Devonshire Parishes*, ii. 8.

DITTISHAM.

Screen across nave and aisles.
Many panels renewed, but some of the original remain with figures of the Apostles and other saints.

EXETER CATHEDRAL CHURCH.

Main choir screen, on a series of panels let into the upper portion, viz.:

(1) The Creation.
(2) Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden.
(3) The Deluge.
(4) The Children of Israel crossing the Red Sea.
(5) The destruction of King Solomon's Temple.
(6) The building of the second Temple.
(7) The Angel appearing to Zacharias.
(8) The Nativity.
(9) The Baptism of Christ.
(10) The Descent from the Cross.
(11) The Resurrection.
(12) The Ascension.
(13) The Day of Pentecost.

Murray's *Handbook for Devonshire;* Black's *Guide to Devonshire;* Murray's *Handbook to the Cathedrals of England, Southern Division,* Part i. 164.

Stone screen to St. Gabriel's Chapel, east end of south presbytery aisle.

On the doors: St. Appollonia and another female saint.

On south side: The Annunciation.

On screen between St. Gabriel's Chapel and the Lady Chapel, connected with the monument of Bishop Bronescombe. On south side:

(1) St. James Minor.
(2) St. John the Evangelist.
(3) St. Jude.

On north side:

(1) St. John the Evangelist.
(2) St. Peter.
(3) St. Paul.

On screen between the Lady Chapel and north presbytery aisle, on either side of the monument of Bishop Stafford.

On western portion, south face:

St. John the Evangelist, and two other figures, defaced.

On eastern portion, south face:

Three more figures, the middle perhaps St. John the Evangelist, the east perhaps St. Paul, each with an inscription referring to the Resurrection.

On western portion, north face:

(1) Ezekiel.
(2) Another prophet.
(3) Job.

On eastern portion, north face:

The paintings are effaced.

EXETER, College of the Vicars Choral.

On panels of screen at west end of hall, figures of bishops.

(1) Leofricus, 1049
(2) Marshall, 1191
(3) Lacie, 1420.
(4) Brentingham, 1370,
(5) Stafford, 1395.
(6) Foxe, 1492.
(7) Oldham, 1519.
(8) Blank.

Murray's *Handbook for Devonshire.*

FENITON.

Rood screen; panel paintings of saints.

GIDLEIGH.

Chancel screen, panels mainly renewed.

From north:

(1) A warrior. ? St. George.
(2) ? St. Louis.
(3) St. Peter.
(4) St. Paul.

On the doors:

The Evangelists.

then (1) St. John the Baptist.
(2) ? St. Joseph.
(3) ? St. Louis again.
(4) A warrior. ? St. George again.

Murray's *Handbook for Devonshire;* Worth's *Tourist's Guide to South Devon,* 79.

HARBERTON.

Screen across nave and aisles:

Repainted, and a fresh series of saints

HARBERTON—*continued.*

depicted on the panels. When this was done about twenty years ago, the original figures were visible.

HEAVITREE.

Screen, now placed under the west tower.
From north:
(1) ? St. Lucia.
(2) Sibylla Cumana.
(3) Sibylla Europa.
(4) Sibylla Agripa.
(5) A Sibyl.
On south side:
(1) ? Sibylla Tiburtina.
(2) ? Sibylla Libica.
(3) Sibylla Elopontia.
(4) Sibylla Samne.
(5) ? A Sibyl.
Oliver's *Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Devon*, i. 44; Lysons' *Magna Britannia, Devonshire*, cccxxviii.; C. Worthy, *History of the Suburbs of Exeter*, 45.

HENNOCK.

Screen across nave and aisles.
North aisle screen from north:
(1) St. John the Evangelist.
(2) St. Peter.
(3) St. Jude.
(4) St. Paul.
Doors brown painted over:
then (1) St. Matthias.
(2) St. James Major.
(3) ? St. Philip.
(4) ? St. James Minor.
On main screen:
(1) Female saint with scythe. ?Winifred.
(2) St. Sidwell.
(3) St. George and the Dragon.
(4) Crowned male saint.
(5) Crowned female saint.
(6) St. Dorothy.
(7) St. Erasmus.
(8) An archbishop.

HENNOCK—*continued.*

Doors brown painted over, traces of figures.
Then (1) St. Lawrence.
(2) St. Roche.
(3) St. Mary Magdalene.
(4) A female saint.
(5) St. Stephen.
(6) ? St. Sitha.
(7) ? St. Thomas of Canterbury.
(8) St. Margaret.
South aisle screen:
(1) ? Our Lord.
(2) St. Gabriel.
(3) The Lily Pot.
(4) The Blessed Virgin.
} The Annunciation.
Doors brown painted over.
On next four panels, figures very indistinct and not decipherable.
C. Worthy, *Devonshire Parishes*, ii. 157.

HOLNE.

Screen across nave and aisles.
Screen across north aisle, from north:
(1) St. Sidwell.
(2) ? St. Anthony.
(3) St. Sebastian.
On the doors:
(1) St. Barbara.
(2) ? St. Olave or Pancras.
(3) Indistinct.
(4) A bishop.
then (1) St. Mary Magdalene.
(2) St. Bartholomew.
(3) St. Simon.
On main chancel screen:
(1) ? St. Matthias.
(2) ? St. Thomas.
(3) St. James Major.
(4) St. Peter.
(5) St. Jerome.
(6) St. Gregory.
(7) St. Luke.
(8) St. John the Evangelist.

HOLNE—*continued.*

On the doors:
(1) An angel with musical instrument.
(2) The Blessed Virgin.
(3) Our Lord.
(4) An archangel.
} The Coronation of the Virgin.

then (1) St. Matthew.
(2) St. Mark.
(3) St. Ambrose.
(4) St. Augustine.
(5) St. Paul.
(6) St. Andrew.
(7) St. John the Evangelist.
(8) St. John the Baptist.

On screen across south aisle:
(1) St. Jude.
(2) St. Philip.
(3) St. Appollonia.

On the doors:
(1) St. Stephen.
(2) St. Catherine.
(3) A bishop.
(4) St. Lawrence.

then (1) St. Roche.
(2) St. Margaret.
(3) Figure in act of benediction.

Gentleman's Magazine, xcviii. pt. ii. 115; C. Worthy, *Ashburton and its Neighbourhood*, 126; Murray's *Handbook for Devonshire*; Worth, *Tourists' Guide to South Devon*, 83.

HUISH, SOUTH.

Chancel screen, removed, and now in the chapel of Bowringsleigh. SS. Andrew, Thomas, ? Erasmus, and two female saints, on the panels.

ILSINGTON.

"The lower part of each division of the screen is formed in four panels, on which were originally painted saints and martyrs, but they are entirely obliterated."

ILSINGTON—*continued.*

Transactions of the Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society, v. 87.

IPPLEPEN.[a]

Screen across nave and aisles.

Screen across north aisle:
Four panels on north of doors, remains of old colouring.
On doors: No old colour found.
On south of doors:
(1) Jonah, (2) St. Mark,[b] (3) Joel, (4) an Apostle.

Screen across the chancel:
(1) Daniel.
(2) St. Simon.
(3) Habakkuk.
(4) St. Philip.
(5) Ezekiel.
(6) St. James Major.
(7) Jeremiah.
(8) St. John Evangelist.

On doors:
(1) Traces of figures, (1) has a scroll and the "S" for Sanctus.
(2) (2) has a scroll.
(3) (3) (4) (4) are both nimbed.

then (1) St. Peter.
(2) Moses.
(3) St. Andrew.
(4) Isaiah.
(5) St. Bartholomew.
(6) Amos.
(7) St. James Minor or Matthew.
(8) Zechariah.

Screen across the south aisle:
(1) Apostle.
(2) Prophet. ? Nathan.
(3) St. Thomas.
(4) "Sibilla."

[a] This screen has been removed (1898) to the studio of Mr. H. Read, of Exeter, and the panels have all been divested of the brown paint.

[b] Name St. Mark, but emblem a saw, no doubt for St. Simon.

[c] Name St. Simon, but emblem a boat, no doubt for St. Jude.

KENN.

Screen across nave and aisles.

Across north aisle, from north:

(1) St. Sebastian.
(2) St. Roche.
(3) St. Francis.
(4) St. Hubert.

On the doors:

Modern paintings of St. Peter, the Annunciation, and an Evangelist.

then (1) St. Matthias.
(2) St. Bartholomew.
(3) St. Jude.
(4) St. Simon.

On main chancel screen:

(1) St. Andrew
(2) St. James Major.
(3) St. John.
(4) St. Thomas.
(5) St. Philip.
(6) St. James Minor.
(7) St Stephen.
(8) St. Lawrence.

On the doors:

(1) St. Jerome.
(2) St. Gregory.
(3) St. Augustine.
(4) St. Ambrose.

then (1) St. Ursula.
(2) St. Dorothy.
(3) St. Barbara.
(4) St. Appollonia.
(5) St. Anne and the Virgin. } St. Anne instructing the Virgin to read.
(6) Female Saint holding an open book. }
(7) St. Helena.
(8) St. Mary of Egypt.

On a panel placed against the column of the south nave arcade:

The Holy Trinity and the Annunciation.

Screen across south aisle:

(1) St. Bridget.

KENN—*continued.*

(2) St. Christina.
(3) St. Geneviève.
(4) St. Sidwell.

On the doors:

(1) St. John.
(2) St. Luke.
(3) St. Matthew.
(4) St. Mark.

then (1) St. Juliana.
(2) An abbess. ? St. Scholastica.
(3) ? St. Faith.
(4) St. Veronica.

Oliver's *Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Devon*, i. 27; Polwhele, *History of Devon*, iii. 183.

On large panel by south doorway:

St. Catherine and another female saint, and heads of St. Mary Magdalene and a fourth female saint.

KENTON.

Screen across nave and aisles.

Across north aisle from north:

(1) St. Appollonia.
(2) St. Agnes.
(3) St. Cecilia.
(4) St. Helena.

On the doors:

(1) St. Anthony.
(2) St. George.
(3) St. Sebastian.
(4) A royal male saint.

then (1) Jeremiah.
(2) St. Peter.
(3) Daniel.
(4) St. Andrew.

On main chancel screen:

(1) Isaiah.
(2) St. James Major.
(3) Zechariah.
(4) St. John.
(5) Hosea.
(6) St. Thomas.
(7) Amos.
(8) St. James Minor.

KENTON—*continued.*

Panels of doors brown painted: then
(1) Joel.
(2) St. Philip.
(3) Haggai.
(4) St. Bartholomew.
(5) Zephaniah.
(6) St. Matthew.
(7) Malachi.
(8) St. Simon.

Across south aisle:
(1) Ezekiel.
(2) St. Jude.
(3) Obadiah.
(4) St. Matthias.

On the doors:
(1) St. Lawrence.
(2) St. Barbara.
(3) St. Stephen.
(4) Female saint.

then (1) St. Catherine.
(2) S. Mary Magdalene.
(3) St. Dorothy.
(4) ? St. Lucia.

Oliver's *Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Devon*, i. 14-16; *Transactions of the Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society*, 2nd Series, ii. 96; Murray's *Handbook for Devonshire*; Polwhele, *History of Devon*, iii. 165.

KERSWELL, ABBOTS.

Screen, with traces of figures on the panels visible through the brown paint.

LUSTLEIGH.

Screen.

On west face on the panels, small sculptured figures, probably of the apostles and prophets.

C. Worthy, *Devonshire Parishes*, ii. 190.

MAMHEAD.

Five panels of screen, now between nave and the Mamhead House pew.
(1) St. Peter.
(2) St. Paul.
(3) St. Andrew.

MAMHEAD—*continued.*

(4) St. John the Evangelist.
(5) St. James Major.

Oliver's *Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Devon*, iii. 75.

MANATON.

Screen across nave and aisles.

This was taken away to be "restored" in 1890. It has now been replaced, but some of the panels have disappeared.

Across north aisle:

Two first compartments new.

then (1) St. Helen.
(2) Half a figure.
(3) St. Blaise.
(4) Not decipherable.

SS. Cosmos and Dorothy are said to have been portrayed here.

On main chancel screen:
(1) St. Ursula.
(2) a Bishop, ? St. Nicholas.
(3) St. Jude.
(4) St. Andrew.
(5) ? St. Matthew.
(6) St. James Major.
(7) St. Bartholomew.
(8) St. Paul.

On the doors:
(1) St. Gregory.
(2) St. Jerome.
(3) St. Augustine.
(4) St. Ambrose.

then (1) St. Peter.
(2) St. Thomas.
(3) ? St. Philip.
(4) St. Simon.
(5) ? St. James Minor.
(6) St. John Evangelist.
(7) St. John the Baptist.
(8) St. Barbara.

On screen across south aisle:
(1) } Blank.
(2) }

MANATON—*continued.*

(3) St. Appollonia.
(4) The Blessed Virgin and Child.

On the doors:

(1) (2) Blank.
(3) St. Lawrence.
(4) St. Mary Magdalene.

then (1) (2) (3) Blank.
(4) St. Margaret.

SS. Catherine and George are said to have been portrayed here.

C. Worthy, *Ashburton and its Neighbourhood*, 76; *Transactions of the Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society*, iv. 164, and 2nd Series, ii. 96; Worth, *Tourists' Guide to South Devon*, 77.

MILTON, SOUTH.

Screen across nave and north aisle.

Across north aisle. From north:

(1) St. Appollonia.
(2) St. Margaret.
(3) St. Catherine.
(4) St. Mary Magdalene.

On the doors:

(1) A female, no visible emblem.
(2) A male saint, do. do.
(3) (4) New.

then (1) A royal male saint.
(2) (3) (4) Figures turned towards him in attitude of adoration.

On main chancel screen:

(1) Male figure.
(2) Do. with ermine cape.
(3) St. Thomas or Matthew.
(4) St. Jude.
(5) St. James Minor.
(6) St. Matthew or James Major.
(7) St. John the Evangelist.
(8) St. Peter.

MILTON, SOUTH—*continued.*

The doors are new.

Then (1) St. Paul.
(2) ? St. Andrew.
(3) An apostle.
(4) St. Bartholomew.
(5) An apostle.
(6) ? St. Simon.
(7) ?
(8) A king.

PAYHEMBURY.

"Figures of saints on the panels, painted over."

The panels have been brown-painted over.

PLYMTREE.

Screen across nave and south aisle.

On main chancel screen. From north:

(1) Part of a female saint.
(2) ? St. Bartholomew.
(3) St. Thomas.
(4) Small portion of a figure.
(5) St. James Major.
(6) St. John the Baptist.
(7) Our Blessed Lord.
(8) St. John the Evangelist.

On the doors:

(1) St. Gabriel.
(2) The Blessed Virgin and Lily Pot. } The Annunciation.
(3) The Blessed Virgin.
(4) St. Elizabeth. } The Salutation.

then (1) The Blessed Virgin and Child.
(2) (3) (4) The Three Kings. } Forming the subject of the Adoration of the Magi.
(5) A bishop.
(6) ? St. Catherine.
(7) St. Roche.
(8) An angel.

On screen across south aisle:

(1) S. Margaret.
(2) ? St. John the Baptist.

PLYMTREE—*continued.*

(3) ? St. Lucia.
(4) St. Vincent.
(5) St. Petronilla.
(6) An archbishop.
(7) St. Dorothy.
(8) St. Michael and Satan.

On the doors:

(1) St. Sidwell.
(2) St. Sebastian.
(3) St. Helen.
(4) ? St. Romuald.

then (1) St. Agnes.
(2) St. Edward the Confessor.
(3) Female saint.
(4) Defaced.

T. Mozley, *Henry VII.*, *Prince Arthur, and Cardinal Morton*, 39, 40, folio edition, 147, 165, quarto edition; *Transactions of the Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society* (2nd Series), ii. 96; *Ecclesiologist*, xxviii. (xxv. New Series), 308; *Builder*, 1865, p. 212; Polwhele, *History of Devon*, iii. 264; Worth, *Tourists' Guide to North Devon*, 82.

POOL, SOUTH.

Screen across nave and aisles, partly renewed.
On many of the panels are painted various arabesque patterns, with heads, dragons, etc.
Photographs in the South Kensington Museum

PORTLEMOUTH.

Screen across nave and aisles:
The panels on the screens across the aisles are either brown painted over or new.
On main chancel screen, from north:

(1) Half a male figure, not discernible.
(2) Female saint.
(3) Male saint, holding a church. ? St. Onolaus,
(4) St. Cornelius.
(5) A Pope.
(6) ? Sir John Schorne.
(7) ? St. Mark.
(8) St. John the Evangelist.

PORTLEMOUTH—*continued.*

On the doors:

(1) Kneeling figure of the donor of the screen.
(2) The Blessed Virgin } The Coronation
(3) The Deity } of the Virgin.
(4) St. Jerome.

then (1) A female saint (? Dorothy).
(2) St. Dominic or Peter Martyr.
(3) St. Catherine of Siena.
(4) Royal male saint.
(5) ? St. Francis.
(6) St. Lawrence.
(7) Male saint.
(8) St. Sebastian.

Photographs in the South Kensington Museum.
Coloured picture by the late Mr. J. H. Steinmetz.

SHERFORD.

Screen across nave and aisles.
On main chancel screen, from north:

(1) "Thade$^{\text{o}}$" (Jude).
(2) "Simõ" (Simon).
(3) "Jacob$^{\text{o}}$" (James Minor).
(4) "Ãdreas" (Andrew).
(5) "Joñ'es" (John).
(6) "Petrus."

The doors have not been scraped.
On south side are the lower parts of other figures, that next the door is St. Paul. The other panels have been white or brown painted, but traces of other figures are clearly discernible.

STAVERTON.

Screen recently restored.
On one panel is a half-length figure.

STOKE GABRIEL.

Screen across nave and aisles.
Screen across north aisle: panels repainted.
On screen across the chancel, from north:

(1) Hosea.
(2) St. James Minor.
(3) Amos.

STOKE GABRIEL—*continued.*

Doors gone.

then (1) St. Philip.
(2) Sophonias.
(3) St. Bartholomew.
(4) St. John Evangelist.
(5) Zacharias.
(6) St. Thomas.

On screen across south aisle:

(1) St. Simon.
(2) Malathias.
(3) St. Thadeus.
(4) Daniel.
(5) St. Mathias.
(6) Ezekiel.

STOKE IN TEIGNHEAD.

Rood screen, with figures of saints and martyrs depicted on the panels.

Transactions of the Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society, 2nd Series, ii. 96.

These panels have been destroyed.

STOKENHAM.

Screen across nave and aisles.

On the panels of the main chancel screen have been painted the twelve Apostles, SS. Michael, John the Baptist, Paul and Barnabas; also four figures, ? the Evangelists, on the doors. Panels with figures depicted on them are said to have been found under the pews. Some of the figures on the present screen are alleged to be the ones so found and repainted.

TAVISTOCK.

Rood screen.

The heavenly hierarchy, etc.

Civil Engineers' and Architects' Journal, 1860, p. 7.

Nothing now remains.

TAVY, PETER.

Two portions of the screen, within the altar rails.

On one:

(1) St. Matthew.

TAVY, PETER—*continued.*

(2) St. John the Evangelist.
(3) ? St. James Major.
(4) ? St. Bartholomew.

On the other:

(1) St. Simon.
(2) ? St. Thomas.
(3) St. James Minor.
(4) St. Andrew.

Figures of SS. Peter, Joseph, Mary Magdalene, and Paul mentioned in *Transactions of the Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society*, iv. 171.

St. Philip also mentioned.

C. Worthy, *Devonshire Parishes*, i. 153.

TEIGNTON, KING'S.

Panels of screen destroyed.

Paintings of SS. Catherine, Denys, Barbara, Helen, Geneviève, etc.

Oliver's *Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Devon*, i. 178; Stirling's *Newton*, 124; C. Worthy, *Devonshire Parishes*, ii. 271.

THROWLEY.

Lower part of screen:

Biblical subjects, dated 1544.

Lysons' *Magna Britannia, Devonshire*, cccxxviii.

The panels have been removed.

THURLESTONE.

The screen, with figures of saints on the panels, has been destroyed.

TOR BRIAN.

Screen across nave and aisles.

Across north aisle, from north:

(1) An archbishop.
(2) A female saint.
(3) St. Victor of Marseilles.
(4) St. Margaret.

Doors gone.

then (1) St. Lawrence.
(2) An archbishop.
(3) An archbishop.
(4) ? St. Francis.

TOR BRIAN—*continued.*

On main screen across the chancel:
(1) St. Paul.
(2) St. Jude.
(3) St. Bartholomew.
(4) ? St. Philip or St. Barnabas.
(5) St. James Major.
(6) St. Peter.
(7) St. Mark.
(8) St. John the Evangelist.

On the doors:
(1) An Angel.
(2) The Blessed Virgin. } The Coronation
(3) The Deity. } of the Virgin.
(4) An Angel.

then (1) St. Luke.
(2) St. Matthew.
(3) St. Andrew.
(4) ? St. Philip or Matthias.
(5) St. James Minor.
(6) St. Matthew.
(7) St. Simon.
(8) St. Thomas.

Across south aisle.
(1) ? St. Bernard.
(2) St. Barbara.
(3) St. Anne.
(4) St. Catherine of Siena.

On the doors:
(1) St. Dorothy.
(2) St. Vincent.
(3) St. Helen or a representative sibyl.
(4) St. Petronilla.

then (1) ? St. Emmeran.
(2) ? St. Lucia.
(3) St. Sebastian.
(4) ? St. Norbert.

C. Worthy, *Ashburton and its Neighbourhood*, 155.

TOTNES.

Chancel screen.

Traces of figures on the panels, viz. on north of doorway a nimbed head, bishop's mitre, &c.

Lysons' *Magna Britannia, Devonshire*, cccxxvii.; Cotton, *Antiquities of Totnes*, 41; Worth, *Tourists' Guide to South Devon*, 53.

TRUSHAM.

On screen, painted figures of SS. Peter, Paul, Andrew, James, Simon, George, and Helen.

Oliver's *Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Devon*, i. 192; Lysons' *Magna Britannia, Devonshire*, cccxxviii.

The screen has been renewed; the canopy and panels are new.

The figures have disappeared.

UGBOROUGH.

Screen across nave and aisles.

Across north aisle, from north:
(1) St. Appollonia.
(2) A female saint.
(3) The Blessed Virgin } The
(4) The Lily Pot and St. Gabriel } Annunciation.

The doors are gone.

then (1) }
(2) }
(3) } The Adoration of the Magi.
(4) }

On main chancel screen:
(1) A half-length figure.
(2) The Blessed Virgin within an aureole } The Assumption of the Virgin.
(3) Two Angels adoring }
(4) St. John the Baptist.
(5) A soldier shooting at }
(6) St. Sebastian } The martyrdom of St. Sebastian.
(7) Another soldier shooting }
(8) Another figure with quiver of arrows }

The doors are gone.

UGBOROUGH—*continued.*

then (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) (6) (7) (8) } Sibyls.

Across south aisle:

(1) (2) (3) (4) } Sibyls.

The doors are gone.

then (1) ? St. Lucia or Agnes.
(2) St. Agatha.
(3) An executioner. (4) A female with dish. } The Martyrdom of St. John the Baptist.

Transactions of the Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society (2nd Series), ii. 96.

WHIMPLE.

Two portions of the screen, found under the pulpit, and now fixed to the piers of the west tower.

On south side, from east:

(1) A king, Henry VI.
(2) St. Sidwell.
(3) St. Roche.
(4) St. Barbara.

On the north side, from west:

(1) St. Sebastian.
(2) St. Clement.
(3) St. John the Baptist.
(4) St. Appollonia.

WIDECOMBE-ON-THE-MOOR.

Screen across nave and aisles.

Across north aisle, from north:

(1) St. Agatha.
(2) St. Dorothy.
(3) St. Appollonia.
(4) St. Mary Magdalene.

WIDECOMBE-ON-THE-MOOR—*continued.*

The doors are gone.

then (1) St. Sebastian.
(2) ? St. John the Evangelist.
(3) St. Simon.
(4) St. Thomas.

On main chancel screen:

(1) Indistinct.
(2) St. James Major.
(3) St. Matthias.
(4) St. Peter.

The next four panels and the doors are gone.

then (1) ? St. Augustine.
(2) St. Jerome.
(3) St. Gregory.
(4) St. Ambrose.
(5) St. Paul.
(6) St. James Minor.
(7) St. John the Evangelist.
(8) St. Andrew.

On screen across south aisle:

(1) ? St. Jude.
(2) St. Lawrence.
(3) St. Stephen.
(4) A female saint.

The doors are gone.

(1) St. Catherine. (2) St. Margaret. (3) St. Ursula. } Now placed across the nave and former position of the doors.

C. Worthy, *Ashburton and its Neighbourhood*, 66; R. Dymond, *Things New and Old concerning the Parish of Widecombe-on-the-Moor*, 12.

WOLBOROUGH.

Screens across nave, aisles, and transepts.

Across north transept, west side, from north:

(1) A crowned abbess, ? St. Bridget.
(2) ? St. Cecilia or Dorothy.
(3) St. Leonard or Emmeran.
(4) An abbess.
(5) ? St. Bernard

South side, from west:

(1) St. James Minor.
(2) St. Stephen.

WOLBOROUGH—*continued.*

(3) St. Paul.
(4) St. Bartholomew.
(5) St. Andrew.
On the doors, three panels brown painted over.
Then (1) St. James Major.
(2) St. Thomas.
(3) St. Matthew.
(4) St. Simon.
(5) St. Philip.

Across north chapel:
Four panels between transept and chapel have no figures.
Then (1) St. William of York.
(2) St. Etheldreda.
(3) ? St. Gertrude of Nivelles.
(4) St. Ursula.
(5) St. Helena.
(6) St. Sidwell.
(7) St. Catherine.
(8) St. Dorothy.

Main chancel screen:
(1) Sir John Schorne.
(2) St. Aubert.
(3) St. Cosmos.
(4) St. Damian.
(5) St. Julian Hospitator.
(6) St. Maura.
(7) Isaac.
(8) Abraham.

On the doors:
(1) An archbishop. (2) Do. (3) An abbot. (4) Do. } Repainted possibly over the four doctors of the Western Church.
then (1) St. Adrian.
(2) St. Leodegar.
(3) St. Victor of Marseilles.
(4) St. Paul the Hermit.
(5) Youthful figure.
(6) White monk.

WOLBOROUGH—*continued.*

(7) Figure in white.
(8) Do.

Screen across south chapel:
(1) ? St. Lucia.
(2) ? St. Agatha or Agnes.
(3) St. Barbara.
(4) St. Helen, or representative sibyl.

On the doors:
(1) Female saint. (2) Do. (3) St. Veronica. (4) Female saint. } Repainted.
then (1) Male saint.
(2) ? St. Leonard.
(3) ? St. Petronilla.
(4) ? St. Olave or St. Edward King and Martyr.
(5) ? St. Paul of Constantinople.

Screen across south transept, from east:
The doors with three panels are gone.
then (1) St. Gabriel. (2) The Lily Pot. (3) The Blessed Virgin. } The Annunciation.
(4) St. Elizabeth.
(5) St. John the Baptist.

On west face, from the north:
(1) An ecclesiastic.
(2) ? A cardinal.
(3) ? St. George.
(4) An archbishop.
(5) St. Erasmus.

C. Worthy, *Devonshire Parishes*, ii. 125; *Transactions of the Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society*, v. 42; Murray's *Handbook for Devonshire; Monograph on the Screen at Wolborough Church*, by C. E. Keyser.

WOODLEIGH.

"Lower portion of rood screen; panel paintings of saints."
There are no remains of the screen in the church.

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